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THE SHANGHAI MUSEUM
ROYAL ASIATIC SOCIETY, NORTH CHINA BRANCH

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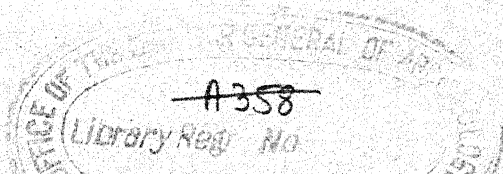
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For "become warm and expand" read "be compressed and warmed"

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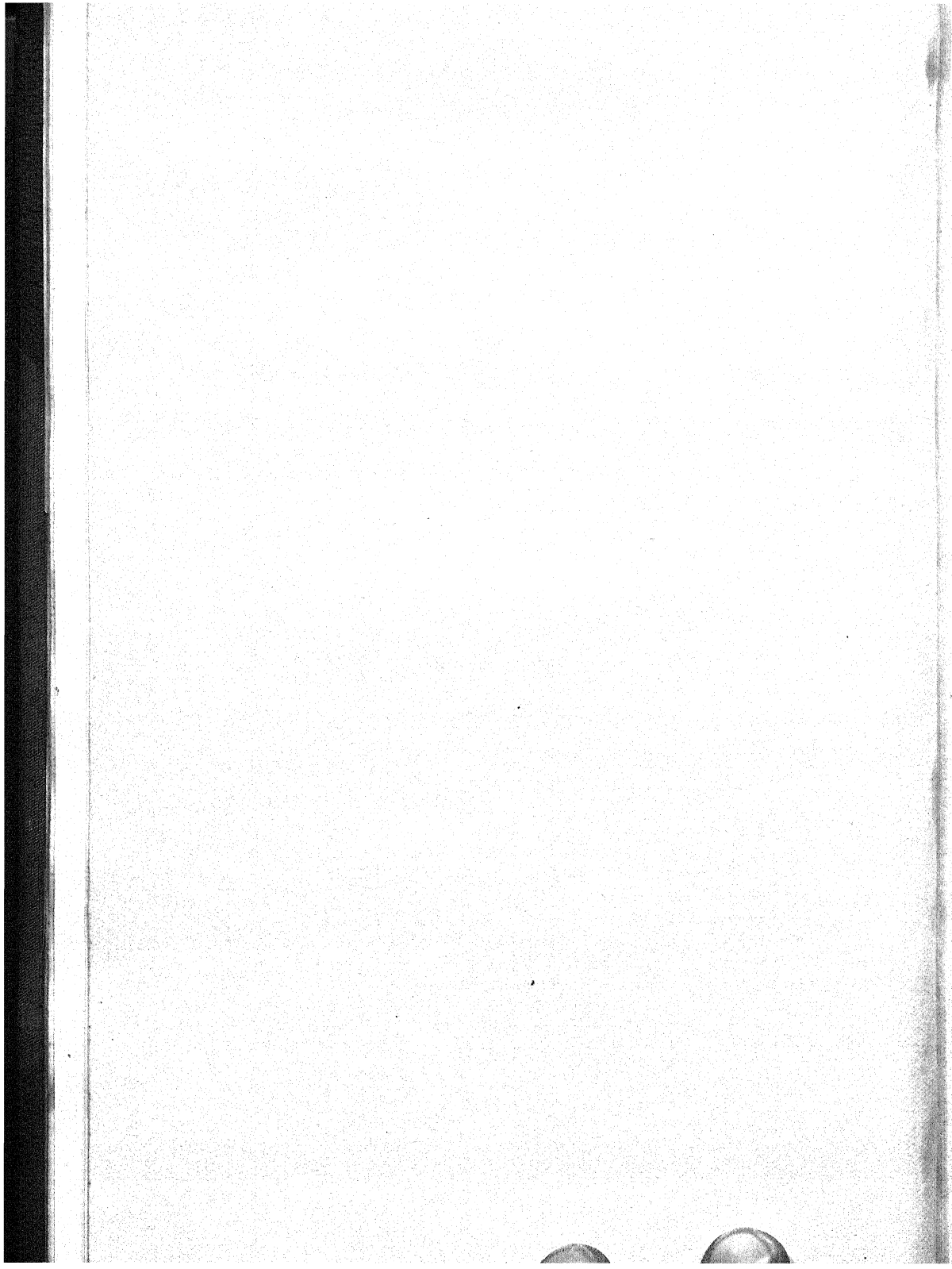
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¹ Mr. Isaac Mason states that for a short time Dr. Edkins acted as President, and for many years he was Vice-President, holding that office at the time of his death in 1905.



VOL. LXV, 1934.

EDITED BY ESSON M. GALE

CONTENTS

	PAGE
THE REOPENING OF THE SHANGHAI MUSEUM (R.A.S.). Address by Dr. John C. Ferguson	i
THE HISTORY OF THE SHANGHAI MUSEUM (R.A.S.). By Arthur de C. Sowerby, F.R.G.S., F.Z.S. (Honorary Director) ..	iii
PROCEEDINGS OF THE ANNUAL GENERAL MEETING	xi
THE BEGINNINGS OF THE HUMAN RACE. By Dr. A. W. Grabau	1
PAINTERS AMONG CATHOLIC MISSIONARIES AND THEIR HELPERS IN PEKING. By John C. Ferguson, PH.D.	21
THE CYCLES OF CATHAY. By Herbert Chatley, D.Sc.(Lond.) ..	36
BAMBOO AND BAMBOO PAINTING. By Têng Kuei, M.F.A., F.R.S.A.	55
THE PAST DECADE IN CHINESE LITERATURE. By D. Willard Lyon, M.A.	62
DISCOURSES ON SALT AND IRON (YEN T'IEH LUN) (Further translations). By Esson M. Gale, PH.D.	73
THE TRANSLATION OF THE FRAGMENTS OF THE NESTORIAN WRITINGS IN CHINA (<i>Concluded</i>). By Prof. P. Y. Saeki	111
THE TRAVELS OF EMPEROR MU (<i>Concluded</i>). Translated by Chêng Tê-k'un	128
THE PRAJNA-PARAMITA HRIDAYA SUTRA or "ESSENCE OF TRANSCENDENTAL WISDOM" (Hsüan Chuang, A.D. VIIth Cent). Translated by Shao-Chang Lee	150
REVIEWS OF RECENT BOOKS: Cressey, <i>China's Geographic Foundations</i> (J. Arnold); Peake, <i>Nationalism and Edu- cation in Modern China</i> (D. W. Lyon); H. C. Hsü, <i>Outline of Yin Bone Inscriptions</i> (J. C. Ferguson); Schjoth, <i>The Currency of the Far East</i> (H. E. Gibson); Ferguson, <i>Cata- logue of the Recorded Paintings of Successive Dynasties</i> (歷代著錄畫目) (C. Sun); Gamble, <i>How Chinese Families Live in Peiping</i> (T. F. Wang); <i>Publications of the Institute of Chinese Cultural Studies of the University of Nanking</i> (J. C. Ferguson); Latourette, <i>The Chinese: Their History and Culture</i> (E. M. Gale); Gale, <i>Basics of the Chinese Civilization</i> (M. Cressy); T. T. Chang, <i>Sino- Portuguese Trade from 1514 to 1644</i> (D. Roberts); de Smedt and Mostaert, <i>Dictionnaire Monguor-Français</i> (E. M. Gale); Candlin, <i>The Herald Wind</i> (F. Ayscough); Ayscough, <i>Travels of a Chinese Poet, Tu Fu, Guest of Rivers and Lakes</i> (R. F. Fitch); White, <i>Tombs of Old Lo-Yang</i> (E. Morgan).	152
SINOLOGICAL NOTES	187
SUMMARIES OF LECTURES	198
OBITUARY NOTICES	206
ADDITIONS TO THE LIBRARY	210
LIST OF MEMBERS	219

PLATES

<i>Illustrating—</i>	FACING PAGE
THE HISTORY OF THE SHANGHAI MUSEUM (R.A.S.)	<i>Frontispiece</i>
PAINTERS AMONG CATHOLIC MISSIONARIES AND THEIR HELPERS IN PEKING	21, 23, 28, 33, 34
BAMBOO AND BAMBOO PAINTING	56
THE PRAJNA-PARAMITA HRIDAYA SUTRA OR "ESSENCE OF TRANSCENDENTAL WISDOM" (HSÜAN CHUANG, A.D. VIITH CENT.).	150

THE REOPENING OF THE SHANGHAI MUSEUM (R.A.S.)

Address by Dr. JOHN C. FERGUSON

November 15, 1933.

A cycle of Cathay has passed since this Museum was founded by a resolution of the Council of the Society on March 24, 1874. Without the help of an endowment or any large gifts, it has grown to its present proportions through the interest which the public has taken in its welfare these sixty years. It was started by public subscription and has been maintained by public interest. It is an institution dedicated to the public. Our North-China Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society has been its custodian, but it belongs to the public. The Society has its library and its yearly *Journal* which are the property of the members, but the Museum is owned by the community, of which the Society is only one part.

This public interest in the establishment of a museum in the seventies of the last century was the deciding factor which induced the British Government to make its generous gift of the site for this new building, which now provides a home for the library and museum, as well as a hall in which both institutions can keep in touch with their supporters. The Museum has been fortunate in enlisting the voluntary services of a long line of Curators, of whom the first was W. B. Pryer of the British Consular Service, who had among his assistants such worthy men as Kingsmill, Keswick, and Wylie. Of his successors, the one longest in service was the late Dr. Arthur Stanley, of the Municipal Health Department, and it is due to his indefatigable labours that the specimens have been preserved to our time in as good condition as they are now found. His great contribution to the welfare of the Museum was made

ii THE REOPENING OF THE SHANGHAI MUSEUM (R.A.S.)

with such modesty that it is liable to be overlooked, but those of us who were associated with him cannot fail to recall to your memory on this occasion his splendid work. The Society showed its appreciation of Dr. Stanley by electing him President.

The name of de la Touche must also be remembered as one of the most enthusiastic friends and contributors which the Museum has ever had. In our present Hon. Director, Mr. Sowerby, we have the rare combination of naturalist, artist, and writer. He has worked night and day for our present Museum, soliciting contributions, getting the building into orderly arrangement and exhibiting the specimens according to modern methods. You have only to look around to see what Mr. Sowerby and his associates have accomplished and in this group I am sure that you will all agree with me in a special mention of Mrs. Sowerby.

When this Museum was founded there were giants in our Society. F. B. Forbes of Russell & Co. was the President; Alexander Wylie, and George F. Seward, American Consul General, were vice-Presidents. Henri Cordier was Librarian while Dr. Macgowan, Sir Edward Hornby, and W. H. Medhurst were members of the Council. Among the members of the Society were Sir Rutherford Alcock, Sir Thomas F. Wade, Dr. Legge, Dr. S. Wells Williams, Dr. Joseph Edkins, Dr. W. A. P. Martin, Colonel Yule, Raphael Pumpelly, Dr. S. R. Brown, W. F. Mayers, Sir Robert Hart, Dr. Bushell, Dr. Eitel, Augustine Heard, T. Watters—only to mention a few of the names of the remarkable men of that period.

My hope for the continued usefulness to the community of this Museum is centred in the establishment of a close relation between it and the schools of Shanghai and surrounding country. At some time during the school year, every pupil in every school in this district should be brought to the Museum. This can be provided for on Saturdays and Sundays. Boys and girls need a knowledge of the animal life about them quite as much as they need physical exercise and this museum is the best place in Shanghai where it can be imparted. The Museum must be tied up closely to the schools of Shanghai and in this way it can continue to prove its worth to the public, whose contributions and help have made its existence possible.

THE HISTORY OF THE SHANGHAI MUSEUM (R.A.S.)

By ARTHUR DE C. SOWERBY, F.R.G.S., F.Z.S.

It is just sixty years since the Shanghai Museum, one of the major activities of the Royal Asiatic Society (North China Branch), came into existence; and it is a fitting thing, and a coincidence that may be taken to augur well for its future, that this useful institution starts on its second sixty-year cycle in the far more commodious quarters provided by the third and fourth floors of the Society's fine new building completed early last year.

Although one of the main purposes for which the local branch of the Royal Asiatic Society was formed was the founding of a museum, it was not till the completion in 1874 of the Society's first building on the present site, granted in perpetuity by the British Crown, that this object could be achieved; but in that year a number of members formed themselves into a Committee and approached the Society's Council with a plan to establish a museum forthwith. The plan was adopted, the Committee, consisting of twelve prominent Shanghai residents, being authorized to proceed with the project. A fund was raised by borrowing at low interest the sum of Tls. 1,500 from the community's Recreation Fund, and the Museum was brought into existence in one of the upper rooms in the New building.

By great good fortune the famous missionary-naturalist, the Reverend Père Armand David, was passing through Shanghai, where he was leaving his trained Chinese collector, named Wang Shu-hang (王樹衡), and the services of the latter were secured by the Society as taxidermist. The first Honorary Curator was Mr. W. B. Pryer, who had been very active in getting the institution going.

iv THE HISTORY OF THE SHANGHAI MUSEUM (R.A.S.)

The first year appears to have been devoted mainly to the getting together of a collection of local birds, chiefly wild ducks of various kinds supplied by local sportsmen. Indeed, it is evident from the annual reports of acquisitions that throughout the whole history of the Museum it has received more active support from the sportsmen of the Shanghai community than from any other group, culminating early last year in a handsome donation from the members of the Shanghai Clay Pigeon Club of a sum of \$750 to be devoted to the mounting in their natural surroundings of specimens of some of China's game birds and animals.

In the year 1877 Mr. J. P. Martin became the Honorary Curator, being afforded valuable assistance by Père M. Heude, S.J., founder of the Siccawei Museum,¹ in the determination and classification of the rare species that had by this time found their way into the Museum's collections. The Honorary Curator's report of 1878 draws special attention to the acquisition of the lower jaw-bones of a Japanese or sei whale (*Balaenoptera borealis*, Lesson), which are still in the Museum and never fail to interest Chinese visitors, who appear to be less familiar with these great sea monsters than Westerners. These were salvaged from a neighbouring timber yard by Mr. A. A. Fauval, who became the Curator in 1879. He it was who originally named and described the Yangtze alligator, *Alligator sinensis*.

The year 1881, when Mr. D. C. Jansen became the Honorary Curator, saw the acquisition of a fine collection of geological specimens, presented by Dr. H. B. Guppy, surgeon on H.M.S. *Hornet*. This donation, augmented later by further acquisitions, formed the foundation of the Museum's present large and representative geological collection. In the same year the Museum was considerably expanded by being given the room previously occupied by the Society's Library, which was transferred to what was then known as the Shanghai Library for custody.

In 1883 Dr. H. L. Smith became the Honorary Curator, followed in 1884 by the famous naturalist, Mr. F. W. Styan, whose name is borne by many Chinese birds and mammals. This was one of the bright spots in the Museum's history, for Mr. Styan greatly increased

¹ Now known as the Musée Heude and situated on Route Dubail in the French Concession, Shanghai.

the collection of birds and generally brought the institution more up to what it ought to be, thereby increasing the community's interest in it. It must have been during this period that the foundations of a very fine collection of Chinese birds in the Museum were laid, though in 1887, when Mr. H. Elgar Hobson took Mr. Styan's place, this was further added to by numerous specimens.

Under Mr. Carl Bock's curatorship, which began in 1889, a large collection of butterflies was purchased in 1891 from Captain Yankowsky, whose name is connected with the natural history of Eastern Siberia, especially the region about Vladivostok, where he later developed a considerable business and established some large deer farms for the breeding of the Manchurian sika deer for their horns, valued by the Chinese as medicine.

By this time the Museum had grown so large that the Honorary Curator reported that it was absolutely necessary to have a paid Curator to look after the specimens properly. Negotiations were forthwith started with a naturalist in South Australia, but in 1895, four years later, when Mr. H. Vosy-Bourbon became Honorary Curator, the position was still unfilled, and it was decided to train a Chinese for the purpose. Even this was not accomplished till in the year 1897, when Dr. R. H. Cox became Honorary Curator, a Mr. S. Chou was engaged, proving very satisfactory, according to the report for that year. During the previous year Mr. A. L. Anderson, still a prominent member of the Shanghai community, presented the Museum with a collection of Australian weapons of war and the chase. In 1898 Professor E. R. Lyman succeeded Dr. Cox, being followed in 1900 by Dr. Stephen P. Barchet, and Mr. J. West in 1904.

It was in 1906 that the late Dr. Arthur Stanley, Health Commissioner of the International Settlement of Shanghai, assumed the onerous duties of Honorary Curator of the Shanghai Museum, an event which must be looked upon as another of the bright spots in the history of the institution. For, whatever his predecessors had accomplished, the fact remains that Dr. Stanley thoroughly reorganized the Museum, and overhauled and re-classified the whole of the collections it contained. This is indicated by the fact that, with the exception of some of the birds, all the specimens in the Museum at

the time that he left Shanghai in 1921 bore labels marked with his name or initials, showing that he had personally handled them. Not only did he do this, but, being a specialist in herpetology, he set about making a fine collection of Chinese reptiles for the Museum, adding his own private collection to it, and in 1914 issued a catalogue of these vertebrates in the *Society's Journal*. He also named a number of new species of snake, in which branch of zoology he was particularly interested.

It was during Dr. Stanley's tenure of office, in 1907 to be precise, that Mr. J. D. D. La Touche, the well-known authority on China's ornithology, became identified with the Museum in undertaking a complete classification and re-arrangement of the birds it contained. He found that fully half the birds in the Museum had to be thrown out owing to their bad condition. He published a catalogue in the *Journal* of 1909, which, like that of the reptiles, has served till now. Many of the present specimens in the bird collection bear labels which show that they were either presented by Mr. La Touche or were acquired during the period he was in charge of the bird collection. He also presented many specimens of mammals and insects. He prepared an exceedingly interesting exhibit of "Insects collected in a Shanghai Garden," which, however, had to be scrapped some years ago owing to the ravages of our local climate. In 1907 Mr. Tang Wang-wang, father of the present incumbent, was engaged as Taxidermist.

Dr. Stanley continued to act as Honorary Curator of the Museum for fifteen years, during which period much in the way of new material was added to its collections. It was obvious from the state of some of this material that, when he left Shanghai in 1921, he intended to return, for it indicates that he was in the midst of classifying and arranging the specimens and had put them away hurriedly, apparently without preservatives, and also without leaving any data concerning them in the hands of Dr. C. Noel Davis, who acted as his *locum tenens* both in the Municipal Health Department and the Museum, subsequently succeeding him in both institutions when it was learned that he was not coming back to Shanghai. Dr. Stanley's failure to return to Shanghai was rather unfortunate for the Museum, for, when, in 1922, the writer became Honorary Curator jointly with

Dr. Davis and began to delve into the recesses of the Museum's cabinets, it was to discover that already in the short period of eighteen months or so much damage had been done by insects and mould.

By this time it was becoming evident that the old building of 1874 was utterly unsuitable and inadequate for the increasing needs of the Museum, whose collections had grown so large that the specimens they contained could not be properly exhibited, and so had to be stored away. An attempt was made to rectify this by installing some wall cases in the lobby of the building on the ground floor, but even these proved inadequate, and, when it was discovered that the building itself was being riddled with the borings of termites, thus requiring considerable repairs, the writer began to agitate for its demolition and the erection of a new one.

Meanwhile he instigated the making of a collection of Chinese fishes by the present Taxidermist, Mr. Tang Seng-kuan, who had succeeded his father, Mr. Tang Wan-wang, in this position. Strangely enough this branch of zoology was scarcely represented at all in the Museum. He also arranged for the securing of the temporary services of Dr. S. M. Shirokogoroff, the prominent Russian ethnologist, in numbering, re-classifying and card-indexing the whole of the specimens in the Museum's collections, an undertaking that had never before been attempted. It became more and more evident, however, that until a new building with much more room for the Museum should come into being, it was hopeless attempting to do much with the latter, and, in 1927, when Dr. Davis retired and the writer assumed sole charge of the Museum, he made it his main objective to bring about this desirable end.

It was not, however, till the old building had become so dilapidated, with its woodwork eaten away by white ants, as to be dangerous, and the consequent closing to the public of the upper floor housing the Museum, and the condemnation of the building by the Public Works Department of the Municipal Council, that the decision was made to tear down the old building and erect a new one. This was in 1930, but lack of funds prevented the project being actually put into effect until the Municipal Council of the International Settlement graciously decided to make a donation of Tls. 50,000 towards the building fund. Dr. Wu Lien-teh, the well-known plague specialist

viii THE HISTORY OF THE SHANGHAI MUSEUM (R.A.S.)

and present head of the Chinese Government Quarantine Service, generously donated a further Tls. 20,000, which, with various sums raised by an appeal to the community, amounting to some Tls. 40,000 and bringing the total up to Tls. 110,000, made the Society's Council feel justified in proceeding with the project of erecting a six-storey building in place of the old one, which had served its purposes for well over half a century.

This naturally necessitated the removal of the collections in the Museum and their storage during building operations. Premises were secured near by on Peking Road, and with all due care the specimens were removed and stored there. In spite, however, of every precaution the two years that elapsed before the new building was ready for occupation played havoc with many of the specimens, especially the birds, and it is to be regretted that not a few of these will have to be replaced.

The most critical period of the Museum's history came in the early part of last year, after the new building had been completed and formally opened. As a result of recent adverse economic conditions, and especially owing to the great drop in the value of silver in relation to gold, the original estimate for the cost of the new building was exceeded by something like Tls. 50,000, with the result that the Society, although it had raised funds in excess of what were needed when the project was first decided upon, found itself heavily in debt when the building was actually completed. Indeed, the financial situation was so acute that there were no funds for the furnishing of the Auditorium with seats or the Library with shelves, and these needs were only met by individual members of the Council pledging themselves to raise the necessary money. There still remained the question of show cases for the specimens in the Museum, a far more costly matter than either the shelves for the Library or the seats for the Auditorium, and it became a question whether the Museum would not have to be abolished and the two floors intended for it let out as offices in order to provide the Society withan income sufficient to continue its other activities.

An appeal had meanwhile been made to the Shanghai Municipal Council for a substantial increase in its annual grant to the Society, and it was the granting of this increase that finally turned the scale in favour of retain-

ing the Museum. The crisis was safely passed, and the writer, who was made Honorary Director of the Museum in 1932, the old position of Curator having been abolished as out of date and antiquated, was given the welcome authority to proceed with the installation of the show cases.

Much valuable time, however, had been lost, and it was not till the hot summer weather had actually commenced that the cases were completed, after which the present staff, consisting of a native taxidermist and two assistants, and the Honorary Director, worked feverishly throughout the summer and autumn to get the Museum ready for opening to the public by the middle of November of last year.

At the same time that it was decided to change the curatorship to a directorship, it was proposed to enlarge the personnel of the Museum, and Professor W. M. Porterfield of St. John's University was elected Keeper of Botany and Mr. E. S. Wilkinson, local authority on birds and author of "Shanghai Birds," Keeper of Ornithology. Later Mr. Harold Porter, formerly of His Britannic Majesty's Consular Service and more recently Manager of the Peking Syndicate, an expert in Chinese antiquities and *objets d'art*, was elected Keeper of Archaeology, while Mr. H. E. Gibson, a well known resident in the Far East, and one who has had considerable experience in the collecting of Chinese coins, was elected Keeper of Numismatics. Professor Porterfield and Mr. Porter have since resigned on leaving China, Mr. Gibson taking the latter's place; while Dr. Yuanting T. Chu, authority on Chinese fishes, has been appointed Keeper of Ichthyology, and Mr. Yen Teng-chien, authority on Chinese molluscs, Keeper of Conchology. Mr. E. M. Buchanan is going over the Museum's collection of reptiles with a view to re-cataloguing, but for the present prefers not to occupy an official position. Thus, in a sense, the Museum now has a Committee resembling the one originally responsible for its founding, each individual member of which undertook to look after some special branch or department.

The Museum is now far too large to be cared for properly by a single individual, especially one only able to give it his spare time. The crying need, voiced in 1892, of a paid Curator who could devote his whole time to the collections is still unfilled, and is to-day far greater than

X THE HISTORY OF THE SHANGHAI MUSEUM (R.A.S.)

it was forty years ago. The Society, however, is not in a position to afford the expense of such assistance, and recourse must of necessity be made to those willing to give their services. This is indeed a sad state of affairs, and while it is felt that the Museum has reached another bright spot in its history, is, in fact, entering upon a new and altogether more hopeful phase of its existence, the fact remains that it must still depend for that existence upon the voluntary support in labour and finance of individuals in the Shanghai community.

It is an astonishing thing that an institution of this nature in a rich city like Shanghai, where many huge fortunes have been made, has not, with the exception of the grant from the Shanghai Municipal Council and the handsome donation from Dr. Wu Lien-teh towards its present building fund, in all its sixty years received a single endowment of any importance.

It is fervently to be hoped that such a state of affairs will not continue to exist, and that in the near future there will be found wealthy members of the community sufficiently public spirited to endow the Royal Asiatic Society and its Museum with funds adequate to their present and future needs.

Those needs include paid expert assistance. Voluntary service in both the Library and the Museum may have been all that was needed in the past, but, with the expansion of the Society's activities in both these directions, it can no longer be adequate. Although the writer and those associated with him are willing to continue giving their services without remuneration, adequately paid Librarian and Curator, devoting their whole time to the work involved, are needed in addition. The staffs, too, should be larger than they are at present, if the Library and Museum are to be maintained and developed as they should be in order to meet the needs and be in keeping with the dignity of a city the size of Shanghai.

It will be seen, then, that the Society requires far more substantial financial support from the community than has hitherto been vouchsafed to it, and, in view of the undoubted services the Society renders this community, with its splendid Library of works of reference on China and the Far East, and its well filled and highly interesting as well as educative Museum, both opened to the public free of charge, it is to be hoped that this necessary support will not be withheld.

PROCEEDINGS

ANNUAL GENERAL MEETING

An occasion of congratulation for the successful efforts of the Society in re-establishing the Shanghai Museum, and at the same time a moment of considerable anxiety for its financial future, the Annual Meeting of the Society was held in Wu Lien-teh Hall, 20 Museum Road, on Thursday, June 21st, 1934 with the Rev. Evan Morgan, D.D., President of the Society, in the chair. In view of the gravity of the Society's financial position, despite its increasing popularity and usefulness in other respects, the earnest consideration of all members is invited to the succeeding annual reports of officers, particularly the remarks of the Hon. Secretary.

The President's Report

Dr. Evan Morgan, President of the Society for the past year, in his report spoke as follows:—

It is customary for you to receive at the Annual Meeting the reports of the various departments and the gentlemen whom you have appointed to these offices will soon present you with their reports. It falls to my lot to speak in a more general way on the work and the events of the year just closing. And the first thing that occurs to me to say is that the Council meetings have been well attended. At this particular time this is a matter of importance, things being as they are. It shows that the Council desire to shoulder their responsibility towards the Society and it is a matter of encouragement to the Secretary and President to have had such support. There are heavy responsibilities resting on the Council and the Secretary will speak more fully on this topic later on. Sooner or later plans for the easement of the burdens will have to be devised. It is satisfactory to feel that there is a sympathetic Council at the back.

Lectures have been given and papers read during the year. It is gratifying to report that the audiences have been fairly good. From casual observations that one has been able to make, the interest in the Society is increasing and it is to be hoped that it will go on increasing and that the Council will devise fresh methods of winning the appreciation of the public so that the Institution may become a valuable factor in the life of Shanghai. The lectures of the past year have been fruitful in this direction. We had the pleasure, too, of having a lecture by Dr. Norwood, the distinguished minister of the City Temple, London.

There were some fears, at first, of the accoustic properties of the Hall. It is found that one way of getting a clear speech well heard in every part is to have a good audience. When the Hall is full the sound travels well.

The chief event of the year has been the opening of the Museum. It almost became a society affair. Mr. Sowerby and his colleagues had prepared everything so well that those who attended were most pleased with the Museum. The Society owes much to Mr. and Mrs. Sowerby for the organization of the day's proceedings and the success of the Museum has done much to enhance the value of the Society in public estimation. Provided that the financial difficulty can be solved we may well look forward to a Museum that will not only give a distinction to Shanghai but also to China.

The outlook on the general situation is not too rosy. The debt on the building is heavy: and the income to meet the annual expenditure is not enough. Mr. Heaney, the Hon. Secretary, who has given much thought to this subject, will speak of it later on. The Council will have to face this situation during the coming year. Unfortunately the new building has very little sources of revenue. The generous public must come to the rescue. It would be a thousand pities to curtail any of the work. The Municipal Council has been generous in the past; I do not see why we cannot once more appeal to their liberality. This is one of the public institutions of Shanghai. Individuals and firms have been most generous in the past and though there are hard times yet hard times often inspire the spirit of munificence.

Can the Institution be made more useful? That is a question suggested by a Councillor a little while ago. It is a question for the immediate future. I have always felt Shanghai should have a school of Oriental Learning. Let

Shanghai have a share in the advancement of learning. There is wealth here. But the unfortunate thing is that Shanghai is nobody's home. Well, it may become more of a home as the days pass.

The Honorary Librarian's Report

I have the honour to present my first Annual Report as Hon. Librarian of the Royal Asiatic Society, North China Branch. Miss M. V. McNeely resigned from her position as Hon. Librarian last November but I am happy to say that she continues to take interest in our work and gives much needed assistance. I must also thank Mr. A. J. Waller who has been very helpful in cases where expert advice was required.

Mr. Z. T. Woo, who had been Assistant Librarian for 26 years and worked well, was compelled to resign last August owing to ill-health. Messrs. T. Y. Chao and C. Y. Fu were appointed Assistants and have performed their duties efficiently. Routine work has progressed satisfactorily and nothing of importance occurred during the year.

The number of books issued to members during the year was 526 to 64 members.

2,435 persons used the Reading Room.

1933—June	152	persons
—July	136	"
—August	171	"
—September	136	"
—October	125	"
—November	384	"
—December	228	"
1934—January	218	"
—February	150	"
—March	213	"
—April	229	"
—May	293	"

2,435 persons

149 new volumes and pamphlets have been donated to the library and 2 volumes have been purchased, viz.

"A Diary of the Siege of the Legation in Peking," by N. Oliphant, 1901.

"Ancient Chinese Political Theories," by K. C. Wu, 1928.

The list of books presented and purchased will appear in our *Journal*.

A number of valuable Chinese books have been placed on loan by Dr. Esson M. Gale. These works may be perused in the library but may not be taken away. Mr. A. de C. Sowerby has presented to the library sets of scientific magazines and he continues to send us new numbers of these as he receives them. The Society's hearty thanks are due to these two gentlemen for their kind consideration and generosity.

Owing to recent losses of irreplaceable books, the library catalogue has been revised and rare books have been stamped "Not to be taken away from the Library." The total number of books on our closed shelves is 1,416.

Below is a detailed list:—

100—Philosophy	11 volumes
200—Religion	161 „
300—Sociology	89 „
400—Philology	255 „
500—Natural Science	178 „
600—Useful Arts	38 „
700—Fine Arts	58 „
800—Literature	67 „
900—Travels and History	559 „

1,416 titles

Mr. T. Y. Chao has rearranged the classification of the Chinese books in the Library and they now appear under four headings, Classics, History, Philosophy, and Collections (Belles Lettres).

The Library Assistants are now revising and enlarging the card index system. Reference cards are also being made for articles on China and neighbouring lands which have appeared in periodicals. These will aid greatly persons searching for data on special subjects. Index Cards have been made for the following periodicals:

The U.S. National Museum, Proceedings of, Vol. XIV, 1891 to Vol. LXV, 1925.

The U.S. National Museum, Reports of, 1887 to 1932.

Smithsonian Miscellaneous Collection, Vols. I to LXXX.

The Smithsonian Institute, Reports of, 1854 to 1931.

The American Oriental Society, Journal of, Vol. I to LIII (1849-1933).

American Philological Association, Proceedings of, 1869-1917.

American Historical Association, Annual Reports of, 1889 to 1898.

American Folklore, Journal of, 1891 to 1912.

The Essex Institute, Journal of, 1869 to 1894.

The Museum of Comparative Zoology at Harvard College, Bulletin of, Vol. VII, 1884 to Vol. LI, 1908.

Philippine Journal of Science, 1916 to 1930.

Royal Asiatic Society, Transactions of, 1827 to 1835.

Royal Asiatic Society, Journal of, 1834 to 1933.

The Society of Biblical Archaeology, Proceedings of, 1872 to 1900.

Royal Anthropological Institute, Journal of, Vol. II, 1872 to Vol. LXIII, 1933.

I am glad to say that the Library besides being of use to the general public is of service to the following institutions: Yen Ching University, Municipality of Greater Shanghai, History Compilation Bureau of Greater Shanghai, and the Henry Lester Institute. In conclusion it must be stated that our Library is in great need of new books to bring it up-to-date, and an appeal is hereby made to all book lovers to assist us with gifts of suitable books, which will be deeply appreciated.

A. ABRAHAM,
Hon. Librarian.

**Report of the Honorary Director of the Shanghai
Museum (R.A.S.) for the year ending
May 31, 1934.**

The year that has passed since the last Annual General Meeting of the Royal Asiatic Society (North China Branch) was held has been one of the most momentous in the history of the Shanghai Museum (R.A.S.). Indeed, with the exception of the year 1874, when the Society's first building was completed and the Museum, to inaugurate which was one of the main objects of the Society, was installed, the past year may, perhaps, be considered the most important in its history.

In the first place the Museum's large and valuable collections, which had been stored away for over two years, were unpacked, cleaned, thoroughly overhauled and arranged in handsome cases in the two large galleries

provided for them in the Society's new building. Never before have the numerous interesting specimens been displayed to such advantage as they are now. Indeed, the mounting of birds and mammals in large cases with scenic backgrounds and natural surroundings, which now form one of the most attractive features of the Museum, is something entirely new in China, except for some smaller cases of a similar nature prepared many years ago by myself for a small Museum in T'ai-yüan Fu, Shansi, and for the Anglo-Chinese College Museum in Tientsin.

The panda case, containing a fine specimen of the rare giant panda (*Ailuropoda melanoleuca*, David) presented by Mr. J. T. Young, Mr. A. B. Emmons III and Dr. R. L. Crook, and a little panda (*Ailurus fulgens styani* Thomas) presented by Mr. K. Blickle of Shanghai, is unique in the museums of the world. The two animals, representing the only two species of a distinct family of carnivore known as the *Ailuridae*, have been mounted to appear in surroundings as close as possible to their natural haunts in the rhododendron thickets and bamboo jungles of the high mountainous areas of West China and neighbouring Tibet. Three other similarly large scenic cases containing specimens of the larger and rarer mammals of the Sino-Tibetan borderlands, such as the blue sheep, the Tibetan grizzly, the isabelline lynx and the white-maned serow, have also been set up, and make a fine showing. Besides these are other large scenic cases containing muntjac, river deer, wild cats, civets, wild fowl, game birds, birds-of-prey, cranes and the larger wading birds of China. These form the more spectacular exhibits in the Museum, and, judging from the numerous entries in the visitors' book, have proved attractive to the members of the Shanghai community.

In the second place the opening of the Museum in its new and greatly improved quarters, which took place on November 15 last year, and the general interest aroused in the community have resulted in an astonishing number of very valuable donations being made, including handsome collections of ancient Chinese and foreign coins, as well as bronze, bone, mother-of-pearl and glass objects from ancient burial sites in Honan, pottery of the early dynasties, ancient bronze weapons and mirrors—all of the greatest archaeological interest. Some glass beads of the Han or earlier periods presented by Mr. A. Robert of

Shanghai are almost identical with beads from Honan that have caused considerable discussion recently in Europe and America as to whether the Chinese manufactured glass at that early period or imported it from the Mediterranean area or elsewhere in the West, the decision seeming to favour the theory that the Chinese made their own glass for beads and other ornaments.

All these coins and objects of archaeological interest have been beautifully arranged and mounted for exhibition by Mr. H. E. Gibson, Honorary Keeper of Archaeology. Mr. Gibson has also mounted and catalogued the famous Oracle Bones presented to the Museum long ago by E. H. Chalfant, the first foreigner to collect and call attention to these interesting relics of the Shang or Yin Dynasty.

The interest shown in the Museum's collections by prominent Chinese connoisseurs has been most marked and gratifying, and, besides actual donations, promises have been received to the effect that the Museum's collections of Chinese antiquities and coins will be made thoroughly representative. They have expressed the desire that the Shanghai Museum should become the leading place of its kind in China, where such objects may be seen and learnt about by the public, feeling, as they do, that by this means a long-felt need will be filled.

Two handsome donations have been received from Chinese dealers in antiques and art objects, one consisting of bronze weapons and mirrors presented by Mr. T. Y. King and another of Sung, Tang and Han pottery presented by King Koo Chai, both of Canton Road. Sportsmen, too, have come forward with donations of game and other birds and mammals which they have shot during the past season's outings.

After six strenuous months of preparation, during which the whole of the Museum's collections were thoroughly overhauled and arranged or mounted in their new cases, for the most part with descriptive labels, the Museum was opened with an impressive ceremony held at 11.30 in the morning of November 15, 1933. Mr. A. D. Bell, Chairman of the Shanghai Municipal Council, declared the Museum open in a speech in which he emphasized the value of such institutions to the public. He was introduced by Dr. J. C. Ferguson, the well known sinologue and authority on Chinese art and a former President of the Society. Mr. Bell's speech was followed by one from the Honorary Director of the Museum, who

took the opportunity to thank those who had assisted him in getting the Museum ready for the opening, especially mentioning Mrs. B. O. Hartman and Mr. and Mrs. F. Gregory, and also the ladies who had arranged for the refreshments following the opening ceremony and the entertainment of the guests at the reception which was to be held in the Auditorium (Wu Lien Teh Hall) in the afternoon. Both he and Dr. Ferguson referred to the very valuable services rendered the Society in raising funds for the new building by Mrs. A. de C. Sowerby.

Dr. Wu Lien-teh, whose magnificent gift to the Society of Tls. 20,000 had gone far towards making the present building possible, also addressed the assembly of many hundreds of Shanghai's leading citizens, foreign and Chinese. At four in the afternoon a very successful reception was held.

From November 15, 1933, to the present date the Museum has been open free to the public every day and all day, from 8.00 or 9.00 a.m. to 6.00 or 7.00 p.m., including all holidays, the policy being to make sure that the Museum is available to the residents of Shanghai and not closed on the only days or at the only times of the day when they can visit it.

And the response has been most gratifying, the average number of visitors being well over a thousand a month. Of this number about one-third were foreigners and two-thirds Chinese. On frequent occasions the Museum has been visited by whole classes of school children and by troops of Boy Scouts and Girl Guides, while the members of one of the many foreign women's associations in Shanghai devoted an afternoon to visiting the Museum in a body.

We have had several changes in the personnel of the Museum. Just after the opening Professor W. M. Porterfield left China, and so resigned from his position of Honorary Keeper of Botany. Early in the present year, Mr. Harold Porter, C.M.G., who was Honorary Keeper of Archaeology, was taken seriously ill and was sent home to England. He resigned from his post in the Museum, and Mr. H. E. Gibson, at that time Honorary Keeper of Numismatics, was elected by the Council to take his place. I am glad to be able to report that Mr. Porter has made a complete recovery and hopes to return to China shortly.

Two new members are being elected to the personnel of the Museum, Dr. Yuanting T. Chu, as Honorary Keeper

of Ichthyology, and Mr. Ten-chien Yen, as Honorary Keeper of Conchology. Each is an expert in his own subject, and it is extremely gratifying to have the services of scientists of their standing to assist in classifying and arranging the Museum's valuable collections.

That the Museum is short of funds almost goes without saying in view of the heavy debt hanging over the Society as a whole. It would be completely without any funds were it not for a donation of \$597.74 from the China Society of Science and Arts, which has recently been wound up. At a time when every effort of the Society should be concentrated on liquidating the debt unavoidably incurred in the erection of the new building, it might, perhaps, seem unfitting to make a plea for funds for one of the Society's individual activities, but it must be realized that a Museum, especially one in the process of reorganization and up-building, cannot be conducted without a certain amount of expenditure, and so the liberty is taken here of appealing to the generously inclined amongst the members of the Shanghai community to contribute something towards the Museum's upkeep and expansion. In the meanwhile special mention should be made of a generous donation of \$1,000 made by Mr. J. E. Samon of Shanghai in memory of his brother, the late Mr. Ezekiel Salmon, to go towards the cost of cases housing the latter's collections of gems, semi-precious stones and geological, conchological and botanical specimens from all parts of the world which were donated by Mr. J. E. Salmon to the Museum last year.

Mr. J. H. McGregor of the McGregor Iron Works, Shanghai, very kindly presented the Society with a large series of enamelled cloak-room check discs, as well as enamelled number plates for the cases in the Museum.

Following is a list of the Museum's acquisitions since my report made last year:

ARCHAEOLOGICAL AND ARTS DEPARTMENT.

From Dr. Y. Y. TSU.

A collection of six glazed pottery or porcelaneous ware pieces unearthed from graves and secured by the donor in Nanchang, Kiangsi, in 1933, as follows:

Two bowls, Yuan Dynasty.

A small vase, Yuan Dynasty.

Two small bowls, Sung Dynasty.

A small dish, Sung Dynasty.

From KING KOO CHAI, Antique Dealer, Canton Road, through Mr. E. T. CHOW.

A collection of eight porcelaneous ware or glazed pottery pieces as follows:

- A large globular jar of the Han Dynasty. From Ch'ing-chiang-pu, east of Hang-tse Lake. Period Han or somewhat later.
- A vase with straight neck, expanding mouth and two vertical loop handles, of whitish ware. From the same locality and period. The ware pattern round the neck is typically Han in character.
- A globular jar with cover of white ware. Upper part glazed. From Loyang, Honan. Tang Dynasty.
- A globular jar with four loop handles, whitish ware: upper part covered with crackled gum-like glaze. From Loyang, Honan. Tang Dynasty.
- A bottle with tall neck, at base of which are two marks: round body with a band of peonies in low relief. Thin pale blue glaze. So-called Yin Ching ware. From Lung Hu Shan, Kiangsi. Period Tang or slightly earlier.
- A granary urn with roof-shaped cover. The same ware and locality. Period uncertain: possibly Tang.
- A pair of funerary urns of Yin Ching ware. Round the neck a dragon in high relief: on the shoulders figures in the round. From Lung Hu Shan, Kiangsi. Sung Dynasty.
- From Mr. T. Y. KING of Canton Road.
- A collection of bronze weapons, mirrors and other objects as follows:
- A mirror with the "teeming hooks and volutes pattern." Huai style. 4th to 3rd Century B.C. From Shou-chou, Anhwei.
- A mirror with the T pattern. Huai style. 4th to 3rd Century B.C. From Shou-chou, Anhwei.
- A mirror with the spiral pattern. Huai-Han transition style. 4th to 3rd Century B.C. Somewhat later than the two foregoing. From Shou-chou, Anhwei.
- A mirror with arabesques. Degenerate Huai-Han transition style. Probably of the 3rd to 2nd Century B.C.
- A mirror with the "cloud and star pattern." Design evolved from a pattern similar to that on the foregoing. 2nd Century B.C. or somewhat earlier. From Shou-chou, Anhwei.
- A mirror of the "nei hsing, jih kuang" type. Inscription reads "*Chien jih chih kuang tsei hsia fu ming*" "When (I) look at (the reflection of) the sun the whole universe is bright." Western Han period.
- A mirror of the Animal Zone (*Shou chüan*) type, 1st Century B.C. to 1st Century A.D.
- Two asymmetrical and one symmetrical celts, all from Loyan, Honan. Chou Dynasty.
- A socketed axe of the Hsiung Nu type from Chang-te Fu, Honan. Probably early Chou Period.
- A dagger-axe (*Ko*) of a fairly late type. From Chang-te Fu, Honan. Late Chou.
- A specimen of the earliest known type of spear-head. From Chang-te Fu, Honan. End of 2nd to beginning of 1st Millenium, B.C.
- Two spear-heads of the Huai Valley type. From Shou-chou, Anhwei. Probably 3rd Century, B.C.

Two swords from Shou-chou, Anhwei. End of the Chou to the beginning of the Han periods.

A knife from Chang-te Fu, Honan. Probably end of Chou or beginning of Han period.

An arrow-head of the Huai Valley type. From Shou-chou, Anhwei. Probably 3rd Century, B.C.

A yoke from Chang-te Fu, Honan. Han or earlier period.

From MR. A. ROBERT of Shanghai.

A large collection of ancient bronze, bone, mother-of-pearl jade, agate, glass and clay objects.

13 specimens Knife money, Chou period.

10 " *Pu* money, Chou period.

2 " *Pu* money, Wang Mang period.

4 " Spade money, Chou period.

7 " Lily-root money.

11 " Bone cowries

2 " Ant-nose money

5 fish (bronze)

10 arrow heads

13 bone hair ornaments

17 bronze bells

A bronze bell-shaped scabbard fitting. Han or Chou period.

A tray of bronze bell-shaped scabbard fittings. Han or Chou period.

A collection of bronze arrow heads. Han Period.

A tray of bone objects, Chou period, and two pieces of tortoise shell (Hsia) with inscriptions.

A tray of mother-of-pearl ornaments. Chou period.

Two halberds, a sword, a banner staff head. Han period.

Numerous glass beads and ornaments. Han period.

Numerous bone ornaments and other objects of the Ts'in period.

19 weights. Yuan period

8 bronze buckles, Han period

A dragon-shaped bronze fitting. Chou period.

A tubular shaped bronze fitting.

2 pairs of bronze fittings, Chou period.

3 pairs of bronze buttons. Han period.

2 large bronze buttons, Han period.

10 round or oval bronze buttons, Han period.

5 pairs of bronze fittings. Chou period.

5 pairs of bronze fittings (faces of animals). Chou period.

2 pieces bronze fittings. Han period.

A bronze ring holder. Ts'in period.

11 jade fish, jade and stone pendants. Chou and Han periods.

A pair of ring holders, Huai style.

A case of glass ornaments. Han period.

One Han and three Ts'in mirrors

A First Century mirror

A tray of bronze scabbard fittings.

From MR. R. V. DENT the following:

A mother-of-pearl rosary.

Four carved wooden rosaries

A carved bone rosary.

Three strings of Mandarin's beads

- A collection of sixteen Souvenir Badges commemorating the 1911 Revolution in China.
 Six Japanese tobacco-pouch figurines.
 From MR. R. D'AUXION DE RUFFE of Shanghai:
 A Chinese suit of armour and helmet of the Ming period.
 From MISS B. MITCHELL:
 A plate, a cup and a saucer of the original transfer-decorated China ware made about 1770 A.D. for the Austrian Royal family, from the collection of Sir William Gunter.
 From DR. BERNARD E. READ:
 A bronze model of the original tooth of Peking Man (*Sinanthropus pekingensis*, Black)

NUMISMATIC DEPARTMENT.

- From MR. H. BROWETT of Shanghai:
 A large collection of silver and copper coins from all parts of the world.
 From MR. WM. YINSON LEE of Shanghai:
 A collection of 118 Chinese cash, spade, knife and other coins.
 From MR. J. E. SALMON:
 A very large collection of copper coins from all over the world made by his brother, the late Mr. Ezekiel Salmon.
 From MR. T. Y. KING:
 A five specimen of the rare *Ping-yang Pu* money.
 From DR. ANNE WALTER FEARN:
 Ten Chinese Silver Dollars of the type minted but recalled early in 1933.
 From MR. H. E. GIBSON:
 A collection of ancient Chinese cash and other coins.
 From MR. A. DE C. SOWERBY:
 Six Chinese tokens or charms.
 From MR. H. H. READ of Shanghai:
 A German Ten Billion (10,000,000,000,000) Mark Note dated February 1, 1924; and a German Ten Million (10,000,000) Mark note, dated October 1, 1923.
 From MRS. S. T. CLARKE of Shanghai the following Russian Bank Notes of the Tsarist Regime:
 Two Roubles 1,000 (Kerensky)
 Two Roubles 100 (Katherine)
 Two Roubles 250 (Romanoff)
 One Roubles 25 (Aleksander)
 One Roubles 5 (Romanoff)
 Two Rouble 1 (Romanoff)
 Also an Alexander One Rouble silver piece.
 From MR. VILHELM MEYER of Shanghai:
 A Ming Dynasty bank note for Taels 250.
 From MR. FRANCIS SCHWYZER of Shanghai:
 Two Russian Bank notes for Roubles 500, dated 1910 and 1912 respectively, and a German bank note for Marks 1,000 dated 1912.
 From MR. HENRY M. WOLF of Shanghai:
 A collection of copper coins from various parts of the world.

ZOOLOGICAL DEPARTMENT.

The following birds have been received:

From MR. S. W. HARRIS of Shanghai:

An Eastern Pratincole (*Glareola maldivarum* Forst.)

A young male Jacana or Chinese Water-pheasant (*Hydrophasianus chirurgus*, Scopoli)

A Little Whimbrel (*Mesoscolopax minutus*, Gould).

A Cattle Egret (*Bubulcus ibis coromandus*, Bodd.)

A Little Bittern (*Ixobrychus sinensis*, Gm.)

A Brown-headed Gull (*Larus brunnicephalus*, Jerd.)

From MR. NOEL RAMSAY of Shanghai:

A Hen Harrier (*Circus cyaneus*, Linn)

From MR. LOUIS SONG of Shanghai:

A Bar-tailed Cuckoo Dove (*Macropygia unchall tusalia*, Hodgson) shot at Siccawei near Shanghai last December. This is the first record of this rare dove outside the mountainous areas of North-western Fukien, Kwangtung and Szechuan.

From the REV. HARRY R. CALDWELL of Futsing, Fukien:

A Burmese Plaintive Cuckoo (*Cacomantis merulinus querulus* Heine); new to the Museum's collections.

From MESSRS M. PH. ROZMAHOFF, O. V. SHEVELOFF and E. P. SZEGEDI:

A Dalmatian Pelican (*Pelecanus crispus*, Bruch.)

From Mr. F. F. STANLEY:

A small collection of British birds' eggs and from Mr. R. V. Dent an Ostrich egg.

The following birds have been received from various sources:

A Jankowski's Swan (*Cygnus jankowskii*, Alph.)

A Goosander (*Mergus merganser*, Linn.)

Two Black-eared Kites (*Milvus migrans lineatus*, Gray)

A Chinese Hobby (*Falco subbuteo streichi*, Hart. & Neum.)

An Asiatic Sparrow-hawk (*Accipiter nisus nisosimilis*, Tick.)

The following mammals have been received:

From MR. MARK L. MOODY of Shanghai:

A pair of Manchurian Roedeer (*Capreolus mantchuricus*, Noak) from Northern Korea.

From MR. K. BLICKLE:

A Little Panda (*Ailurus fulgens styani*, Thomas) and a Szechuan Bamboo Rat (*Rhizomys restitus* M.—Ed.)

From MR. CHARLTON, formerly of Shanghai:

A Chinese Palm-civet (*Paguma larvata*, H. Smith)

By purchase an Indian River Porpoise (*Neomeris phocaenoides*, Cuvier)

A very acceptable donation from Mr. C. H. Brewitt-Taylor, is an old engraving of a pair of Michie's Deer (*Elaphodus michianus*, Swinhoe) dated 1876.

MR. A. BOOKLESS of Chungking, Szechuan, presented the Museum with a collection of Butterflies from Szechuan.

Besides the foregoing donations the Museum has received several very interesting loan collections as follows:

From MR. O. S. BENBOW ROWE of Shanghai:

A collection of early stone carvings, pottery tomb figures, porcelain dishes, a Mongolian Lama *purbu* and trumpets and an oil painting by the Portuguese artist, Carolina Barradas.

From MR. NEILS POULSEN of Shanghai:

A set of pottery utensils from a Han Dynasty tomb excavated in Tsi-nan Fu, Shantung.

From MR. HAROLD PORTER:

A large collection of porcelains, pottery, tomb figures, bronze mirrors and other bronze objects.

From MR. R. V. DENT:

A collection of Chinese and Japanese bronze mirrors made by the late Mr. Vyvyan Dent and some Chinese water-pipes.

From MR. C. F. SHACKLETON:

A Balinese carved and painted wooden figure of Ardjuna riding the Garuda.

From MR. H. E. GIBSON:

A large collection of ancient Chinese coins.

From MR. R. BANDINEL:

A collection of six mounted heads of various Chinese big-game animals.

ARTHUR DE C. SOWERBY,
Hon. Director.

Report of the Editor of the *Journal*

The *Journal*, the official organ of this Society (*Journal of the North China Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society*), was published in its sixty-fourth successive volume on November 3rd, 1933. Through this medium members are provided with a report of the annual proceedings of the Society, a financial statement, a list of presentations and additions to the Library and a list of members of the Society. Papers either read before the Society or contributed without being read are, if of sufficient scientific value, published in the *Journal*. Volume LXIV—1933 contained eleven diversified major articles by recognized authorities in Far Eastern studies, and reviews of some thirteen books, each of which may be regarded as a substantial contribution in Extreme-Oriental researches. The fields covered included history (3), archaeology (1), religion (1), philosophy (1), geography (1), architecture (1), philology (1), bibliography (1), belle-lettres (1).

Endeavour has been made to preserve a high standard of scholarship in the Society's principal publication so that it may continue to enjoy its high rank among scientific publications on Chinese and near related cultures. The policy of avoiding the domain of political science and

current history has been maintained in view of other periodicals published in China whose pages are open to these fields. An innovation in Volume LXIV of the *Journal* has been a section entitled Sinological Notes wherein the Editor has included comments on important papers appearing in periodicals, notes of activities in researches and studies, and other matters of interest relating to the Extreme-Orient. Some eleven items appeared under this heading in place of the former Notes and Queries. The number of copies of the *Journal* issued to members was 497. The list of exchanges with other scientific societies has recently been revised and now numbers 105. Negotiations are in progress for obtaining back numbers of several important French, German and Russian publications in exchange for corresponding series of our own *Journal*. The importance of the book review pages of the *Journal* of this Society to publishers of works on the Far East is obvious when it is realized that the *Journal* goes to a reading public of around five hundred members especially interested in China, and to some 105 learned societies, libraries, etc., by way of exchange. Contributions to the *Journal* are welcomed by the Editor.

ESSON M. GALE,
Editor of the Journal.

Report of the Honorary Treasurer

The Report of the Honorary Treasurer, Mr. F. B. Winter, presented by Mr. Heaney, appears on pages xxxiv-viii of the present *Journal*, to which members' attention is invited. The Report which was adopted as proposed by Mr. J. R. Jones and seconded by Mr. A. J. Hughes is analysed in the Hon. Secretary's report, which follows.

The Honorary Secretary's Report

I am sure you will all be extremely sorry to learn that the absence of Dr. Florence Ayscough from this meeting is due to a fall which she sustained three days ago, and which has necessitated her removal to the Country Hospital. I have sent her a letter on behalf of the Society conveying our sincere sympathy, and expressing the hope for a speedy recovery from the results of the accident.

This building having been completed at the beginning of the year with which my report is concerned, the Society was able to arrange a full lecture programme. As the officer mainly responsible for this item of the Society's activities I would like to express my thanks to the members of the Lecture sub-committee who have been of inestimable value in assisting me to prepare the very interesting series of lectures which we were privileged to hear during the year.

The particulars of the lectures delivered before the Society are as follows:

On September 29, Dr. A. W. Grabau, the world famous palaeontologist, returning to his home at Peiping from the International Geographical Congress at Washington, lectured before the Society on Central Asia, Cradle of the Human Race. His erudite and coruscating talk was certainly one of the outstanding events of the session.¹

October 19, Cycles of Cathay, by Dr. H. C. Chatley.¹

November 2, The Importance of Forestry in Asia, by Mr. D. Bourke Borrows.²

December 14, The Distribution of China's Animals and Plants, by Mr. A. de C. Sowerby.²

We commenced the new year with a lecture by Dr. Bernard Read entitled The Evolution of Chinese Medicine.²

The Society was indeed fortunate on January 15 to hear an address by the eminent divine, Dr. F. W. Norwood. The title which actually concerned the gradual unveiling of Asia by the more progressive and adventurous spirits of the western world, had previous to his arrival been announced as "The World and Some of its Problems." It is a significant fact that Dr. Norwood spoke to a capacity audience, standing room only being available to late comers. I am convinced that, eminent a figure as Dr. Norwood is, the attendance was a response more to the subject of the lecture than the fame of the lecturer. I shall have occasion to refer later on to the lesson the Society might learn in this connection.

January 25, My 1933 Journey through Yunnan and Kweichow, by Mr. Emil S. Fisher.²

February 8, Thought Trends in Modern China, by Dr. Willard D. Lyon.¹

¹ The text of the lecture is published in the present volume.

March 14, The Art of the Nomad, by Mrs. Dagny Carter.²

March 22, The Ruins of Ankor,² by Mr. R. Vivian Dent.

May 3, Bamboo and Bamboo Painting, by Mr. Teng Kuei.¹

May 10, The Mahayana Buddhism,² by Prof. D. T. Suzuki, probably the greatest living authority on the subject.

The final lecture of the session was on May 17, by Dr. Florence Ayscough, her subject being The Connection Between Chinese Calligraphy, Poetry and Painting.²

It will be observed that the lectures covered a variety of subjects, and that the lecturers included nationals of America, Britain, China, Germany and Japan, exemplifying the mutual interest of those who meet on the cultural ground of the Society and demonstrating the truth of the statement that learning knows no nationality and often turns to fruitful yield contacts which in other spheres of activity are only too frequently the potential points of friction.

The attendance at the lectures naturally varied with the degree of popularity of the subject. It is therefore difficult to generalise and say that attendances were good or bad. If, however, attendances are to be measured by the seating capacity of this hall, one has to admit that a number of lectures deserved better support than they received.

Membership: During the year 64 new members were elected and 30 resigned; I regret to have to report the death of 10 others. The net increase in membership was therefore 24. The roll of membership shows 719 names, but of this number 110 are delinquent in the payment of annual dues since 1931 and the majority probably consider themselves as having resigned. In addition there are over 120 members whose subscriptions for the year just ended are outstanding, so that the actual active membership is about 500—representing a support quite incapable of maintaining the activities of the Society as visualised by those responsible for the erection of this building.

Museum: On Wednesday, November 15, 1933, Mr. A. D. Bell, the Chairman of the Shanghai Municipal

² See section in this *Journal* "Summaries of Lectures."

Council, formally opened the Museum in the presence of a representative gathering, thus bringing to realisation the hope, expressed by my predecessor at the Annual General Meeting last year, that the Museum would be opened in the autumn. That it was ready for opening in November is due entirely to the energy of the Director of the Museum, Mr. Sowerby, who was most generously assisted by Mrs. Sowerby and Mr. H. E. Gibson.

Finance: The Building Account: The erection of this building has left the Society with a debt of Mex. \$60,000 and a total absence of any funds for the systematic reduction of the debt or for payment of the interest charges, which, at 6%, amount to Mex. \$3,500 per annum. It has been necessary therefore to earmark over half the sum expected from the Shanghai Municipal Council grant for the current year to meet these interest charges. The grant last year amounted to Mex. \$7,000, but for the current year it would be unwise to expect more than Mex. \$5,600 so that actually considerably more than half our income from this source is swallowed up by the interest charges.

It is imperative that the sum of Mex. \$60,000, to wipe out this debt, be raised as soon as possible, preferably by means of a drive for funds. Failing that, the Society will definitely have to consider taking advantage of the concession offered by His Britannic Majesty's Government, and mortgage the site on which this building stands. This, of course, would be a purely palliative measure and would not occasion the complete removal of this pressing burden of debt.

The Hongkong and Shanghai Banking Corporation have been extremely patient but it would be unreasonable to expect them to view with equanimity the Society's continued inability to reduce the principal. In fact, I have been informed unofficially that a recurrence of a balance sheet similar to that presented for last year will result in the Bank taking steps to safeguard the loan.

The Working Account: The position with regard to the working account is relatively as serious as that of the building account, and owing to the recurring deficits the remedies are unfortunately not so apparent.

Contrary to the optimistic note struck by the Honorary Secretary at the Annual General Meeting last year when he said in his report that "With increased membership and an increased rate of annual subscription,

with an augmented grant from the Shanghai Municipal Council, the Society can pay its way," the financial year closed with an actual deficit of Mex. \$5,000. Admittedly this was converted into a credit balance by the transfer of Mex. \$7,000 from the building fund account, but when it is remembered that that account was already Mex. \$50,000 in debt, it will be appreciated that the sum of Mex. \$2,057, shown as a credit balance in the statement of accounts, is actually part of a Mex. \$7,000 loan advanced by the Bank to the Society and upon which the interest charges are at the rate of 6%.

A budget prepared for the present financial year, and with regard to the straightened circumstances in which the Society finds itself, reveals the probability of a debit balance in 1935 of Mex. \$3,000, and this without any provision whatsoever for repairs and renovations to the building, the purchase of books for the Library or the expenditure of a single dollar on the Museum. In fact, the restriction placed on the Society by this budget amounts to a general paralysis of its activities and a continuation of this restriction must inevitably have fatal results so far as the continuation of the Society's activities are concerned.

Exercising normal activity, the Society's necessary expenditure may reasonably be estimated at Mex. \$16,000 annually, but the most optimistic estimate of income is Mex. \$11,000, leaving an annual debit balance Mex. \$5,000. A drive for new members has been suggested as the best means of overcoming this recurring deficit, but when it is remembered that it would require 600 additional members (i.e. deducting Mex. \$2.00 from the Mex. \$10 annual subscription of each member to meet the cost of the *Journal*) to overcome this deficit, it will be appreciated that increased membership is not a feasible solution to the difficulty. Even if a materially increased membership was obtained our experience regarding outstanding subscriptions would not permit the risk involved in adopting a progressive policy and hoping to meet the increased expenditure from potential subscriptions.

To be candid, and this is a time for candour, the Society is bankrupt, and has been so from the moment the contract for this new building was signed. By this I mean the running costs of this building are far in excess of the Society's income, or the income that might

have been expected from a realisation of the most optimistic anticipation of increased membership. In other words, once this building was erected it was never possible to visualise an income which could save us from an annually recurring deficit in the working account. However the building is erected and we have to face the undeniable fact that we cannot meet the running costs. We have to find a remedy and that as soon as possible.

It seems to me that the only alternative, short of liquidation, is the abandonment of the Museum and the renting of the third, fourth and fifth floors of this building at their highest rental value. This would, I think, provide an increase in income sufficient to cover the estimated annual deficit. It would be nothing short of a calamity if this step has to be taken after the strenuous efforts of the Society in general and the untiring energy of the Director of the Museum in particular.

I much regret to have to present such a cheerless report, but I feel it my duty to leave you in no doubt regarding the financial position of the Society which has had the symptoms of insolvency for the past two years and now threatens complete collapse.

I have been pondering on the desirability of substantially widening the interests of the Society with a view to attracting the support of a much larger proportion of the foreign and Chinese communities who are certainly not attracted by our present activities. Is it not possible and desirable, while maintaining the high standard of scholarship of our lectures to provide for lectures and discussions on matters of topical and pressing importance such as Chinese jurisprudence, economics and the development of aviation in China, etc., etc.? In other words to rejuvenate the Society by bringing the urgent problems of the moment within the orbit of our activities. People are today, I think, taking an ever increasing interest in the things immediately affecting them and a declining interest in matters of a more esthetic nature.

There are possibly strong objections to this course, but it must be remembered that the welfare of the Society is commensurate only with the extent of the interest which its activities engender. With, what I think may be termed, the narrowness of our present policy, is not this building and the organisation and expense which it involves out of proportion to our activities and the interest which they attract?

It will be not only a calamity but a reflection on this community if the Royal Asiatic Society, North China Branch, is forced through lack of funds and support to cease its work or curtail its activities. This, however, is the unpleasant prospect, and it is up to us to do all we can to avoid this possibility by removing from our organisation those faults which militate against our usefulness and which, I believe, are jeopardising our very existence as a cultural Society.

R. S. HEANEY,
Hon. Secretary.

Election of Officers.

The following officers and members of the Council were elected to serve for the year 1934-35.

President, A. D. Blackburn, Esq.; Vice-President, R. D. Abraham, Esq.; Hon. Director of Museum, A. de C. Sowerby, Esq.; Hon. Keeper of Archæology, H. E. Gibson, Esq.; Hon. Keeper of Conchology, Teng-Chien Yen, Esq.; Hon. Keeper of Ichthyology, Yuanting T. Chu, Esq.; Hon. Keeper of Ornithology, E. S. Wilkinson, Esq.; Hon. Librarian, Miss A. Abraham; Hon. Consulting Librarian, Florence Ayscough, D.LITT.; Hon. Treasurer, F. B. Winter, Esq.; Editor of Journal, Esson M. Gale, M.A., PH.D. (Leyden); Councillors, Sir J. F. Brenan, K.C.M.G., H. Chatley, D.Sc. (Lond.), Ch. Grosbois, Esq., A. J. Hughes, Esq., J. R. Jones, M.A., C. Kliene, Esq., Dr. J. Usang Ly, Rev. F. L. Hawks Pott, D.D., Hon. Cheng-ting T. Wang, PH.D., G. L. Wilson, Esq., Wu Lien-teh, M.A., M.D. (Cantab.), Rev. Evan Morgan, D.D., W. H. Way, Esq., R. S. Heaney, Esq.; Hon. Secretary, E. H. Cressy, D.D.

Upon the conclusion of the election of officers Dr. F. L. Hawks Pott proposed a resolution of thanks to the retiring President, Dr. Evan Morgan, who had so ably presided at the Society's meetings during the past year. Seconded by Dr. Esson M. Gale, who added that the Society might well have felt itself complimented with as its President such a distinguished sinologist as Dr. Morgan, the resolution was adopted unanimously.

NEW MEMBERS

L. Appleman
 E. Bacci
 Rev. E. Tomlin Barton
 E. F. Bateman
 C. R. Bennett
 C. K. Binkley
 S. B. Bossack
 J. K. Brand
 Rev. M. Brown
 E. M. Buchanan
 Chang Yin Hua
 Mrs. F. A. Cleveland
 J. Coiffard
 N. L. Coleman
 Rev. A. T. Dale
 Miss C. Diemer
 Mrs. A. M. Dunlap
 P. L. Edward Dzau
 N. N. Emanoff
 H. J. Fairburn
 T. B. Gilbert Fan
 A. Glathe
 H. D. Grove
 G. C. Hanson
 Mrs. V. Hanson
 Capt. J. L. Haywood
 E. R. Huntington
 Capt. P. Jaffry
 J. Javrotsky
 H. S. H. Kwang Hsieh
 Mrs. J. Liddell
 S. Lillico

Mrs. J. K. Lockhart
 E. McBain
 H. P. Mesny
 G. Morriss
 Rev. Wm. Munn
 Miss R. G. Nathroost
 Mrs. F. Nutter
 D. Parsons
 Mrs. H. F. Payne
 Mrs. Willys R. Peck
 Dr. B. E. Read
 H. H. Read
 Capt. J. Rispaud
 Dr. J. F. Rock
 R. des Rotours
 O. S. Benbow Rowe
 Lt-Col. R. M. C. Ruxton
 Prof. Shao Chang Lee
 K. K. Shih
 F. Smothers
 C. S. Speyer
 Mrs. E. W. Sturdevant
 R. W. Swallow
 J. E. Swan
 T'ang Leang-li
 H. Taylor
 Miss L. Thomason
 Rev. W. H. Tipton
 M. H. van der Walk
 Dr. P. de Vargas
 M. Voigt
 Smith Yates

Total: 64 new members elected June 1933 to May 1934.

RESIGNATIONS

Rev. B. L. Ancell
 Rev. E. F. Borst-Smith
 H. H. Bristow
 W. W. Brockman
 Rev. E. W. Burt
 J. W. O. Davidson
 F. Sec Fong
 Sir H. H. Fox
 H. F. Handley-Derry
 E. B. Heaton-Smith
 Mrs. A. Hudson
 D. A. Irvine
 H. J. S. Jones
 Col. M. H. Logan
 Rev. M. Brown

F. C. Millington
 T. E. Mitchell
 Dr. F. M. Nield
 K. F. Pade
 E. Papp
 F. E. Poustry
 W. D. M. Price
 I. E. Roberts
 J. B. Sawyer
 T. E. Schuurman
 E. A. Strehlnneck
 H. J. Timperley
 Dr. H. H. White
 Mrs. E. Wood
 Rev. Z. K. Zia

Total: 30 persons.

Deaths

R. Davidson
E. B. Drew
Dr. A. L. Englaender
B. Firth
H. K. Kwong

V. H. Lanning
S. F. Mayers
Dr. A. Walk
Rev. J. Webster
H. B. Morse (Hon. Member)

Total: 10 persons.

13 Honorary Members	List 1933	695
149 Life Members	New Members	64
557 Ordinary Members		759
719 Total	Less Res. & D.	40
		719

Residing in Shanghai	343
„ elsewhere in China	125
„ in other Countries	186
Address unknown	65

719

NORTH CHINA BRANCH OF THE ROYAL ASIATIC SOCIETY.

BALANCE SHEET AS AT 31ST MAY, 1934.

WORKING ACCOUNT.

Receipts.

<i>To</i> Subscriptions:—	
Annual,	\$3,577.31
Life,	675.04
	<hr/>
" S. M. C. Grants,	\$4,252.35
" Interest on Debentures:—	5,958.57
S. M. C.,	
Shanghai Power Co.,	\$ 100.70
Shanghai Waterworks Co.,	25.16
Mackenzie & Co., Ltd.,	67.14
	<hr/>
Interest on Current Account,	58.74
Hire of Hall,	251.74
Rental from China Journal,	13.70
Sale of Journals,	210.00
Refund of Stamps,	1,678.32
Transferred from Building Account 8.6.33,	1,124.87
	<hr/>
	1.74
	6,996.60

Expenditure.

<i>By</i> Balance as at 30th May, 1933,	..	\$4,121.96
" S. M. C. Rates and Taxes, .. .. .	..	3,407.04
" S. M. C. Land Tax, .. .. .	..	798.81
" Shanghai Waterworks Co., Ltd., .. .. .	..	153.38
" Shanghai Power Co., .. .. .	..	606.27
" Coal, .. .. .	..	1,872.20
" Wages:—	..	
Librarian,	\$2,024.27	
Taxidermist,	1,120.30	
Furnaceman,	396.70	
Liftman,	293.20	
	<hr/>	
" Chinese New Year Bonus, .. .. .	..	3,834.47
" Advertising:—	..	123.50
North China Daily News,	\$ 260.40	
China Press,	69.60	
Sunday Times,	106.05	
Shanghai Evening Post		
and Mercury,	55.65	
	<hr/>	
" Subscriptions:—		491.70
China Digest,	\$ 10.00	
China Journal,	25.00	
India Society,	16.66	
Kokka Publishing Co.,	55.08	
China Recorder,	5.00	
	<hr/>	
		111.74

By Maintenance of Lift,	..	222.98
" Printing, ..	..	1,606.94
" Postage, ..	..	150.50
" Refund R. M. Caudron, ..	..	10.00
" Insurance, ..	..	785.66
" Petty Cash—R. D. Abraham,	..	27.37
" Van Lee & Co., (Desk), ..	..	22.00
" Pathe Orient, ..	..	16.20
" V. Dent for Mirror, ..	..	11.40
" Interest on overdraft at 6%,	..	55.96
" Credit Balance on 30th May, 1934,	..	2,057.81
		<u>\$20,487.89</u>

\$20,487.89

Audited and found correct,
C. MORRISON.

SHANGHAI, 30th May, 1934.

F. B. WINTER,
Hon. Treasurer,

Royal Asiatic Society, North China Branch.

LIST OF SECURITIES HELD BY THE HONGKONG & SHANGHAI BANKING
CORPORATION SHANGHAI, FOR THE ROYAL ASIATIC SOCIETY,
NORTH CHINA BRANCH.

- | | |
|---|---|
| 1 | Debenture Mackenzie & Co., Ltd. 1st Mortgage, 6% 1915 @ Tls. 700. |
| 2 | " Shanghai Municipal Council Loan, 6% 1925 @ Tls. 100 each. |
| 5 | " " " " 6% 1926 @ Tls. 100 each. |
| 1 | " " " " 6% 1926 @ Tls. 500. |
| 8 | " Shanghai Waterworks Co., Ltd., 6% 1932 @ Tls. 100 each. |
| 3 | Shares "Shanghai Power Company" Tls. 6 Silver Preferred stock. |
- Title Deed B.C. Lot 12416 with Conditional Declaration of Trust
attached, in favour of the Royal Asiatic Society, North China
Branch.
- Two letters from H.B.M. Foreign Office re: raising of mortgage
on property if required.

DONATIONS TO THE BUILDING FUND.

FROM 31ST MAY, 1933 TO 30TH MAY, 1934.

Shanghai Football Club,	\$1,000.00
Shahmoon, E. E.,	50.00
Wilkinson, E. S. (Museum),	100.00
Shahmoon, A. E.,	200.00
Ezra, Moise,	100.00
Luthy, E.,	30.00
North China Daily News (Museum),	61.75
Salmon, J. E. (in memory of his brother),	1,000.00
Leslie, T.,	20.00
Kliene, C.,	100.00
Chatley, H.,	25.00
Leavens, D. H.,	100.00
	<hr/>
	\$2,786.75
	<hr/>

NORTH CHINA BRANCH OF THE ROYAL ASIATIC SOCIETY.
BALANCE SHEET AS AT 30TH MAY, 1934.
BUILDING FUND ACCOUNT.

<i>Receipts.</i>		<i>Expenditure.</i>	
<i>To</i> Subscriptions,	\$2,788.75	<i>By</i> Balance as at 30th May, 1933, ..	\$48,733.04
" S. M. C. Grants,	2,097.90	" Transferred to R. A. S. Working a/c., ..	6,996.60
" Debit balance as at 30th May, 1934, ..	58,755.41	" Crittall Manufacturing Co., ..	5.04
		" Fong Sacy Kee & Co., ..	4,465.90
		" Ja Chong & Co., ..	48.00
		" G. Finocchiaro & Co., ..	20.00
		" Ming Yih & Co., ..	140.00
		" General Electric Co., ..	190.00
		" Palmer & Turner, ..	96.80
		" Tankai & Co., ..	9.79
		" Interest on overdraft at 6%, ..	2,934.89
	<u>\$63,640.06</u>		<u>\$63,640.06</u>

Audited and found correct,
C. MORRISON.

F. B. WINTER,
Hon. Treasurer,

SHANGHAI, 30th May, 1934.

Royal Asiatic Society, North China Branch.

THE BEGINNINGS OF THE HUMAN RACE¹

By Dr. A. W. GRABAU

*China Foundation Research Professor of Palaeontology in the
National University, Peking, and Chief Palaeontologist
to the Chinese Geological Survey*

The hypothetical cradle of the human race has been sought for in various countries of the old world. By the majority of the students of the subject, Africa and Asia have been regarded as the two most likely claimants, and one or the other has been most strongly favoured, according to the method of approach in the study of the problem. Those who favour the African origin of the human race generally point to the existence there of living anthropoids (chimpanzee and gorilla) which show the nearest affinity to man. Charles Darwin argued that as man presents much closer affinity to the chimpanzee and gorilla than to the other apes, he must have arisen from the same group of ancestral apes which gave birth to these African anthropoids. He further suggests the probability that fossil remains of more primitive apes would eventually be found in Africa, and that possibly man himself was evolved on that continent.

In this argument, Darwin evidently entirely left out of consideration the question of distribution by migration. The fact that the most man-like apes are found in Africa to-day, does not necessarily indicate that they originated there, and can certainly have no direct bearing on the origin of man. For no one questions that we are dealing with two widely divergent types of evolution, whose common ancestor must be sought in a far distant geological period. If that be granted, it must also be

¹ Substance of a lecture delivered in the Wulienteh Hall of the Society at Shanghai on 29th September, 1933.

conceded that the present distribution of these organisms can hardly be a clue to their common center of origin. Nor can the fact of the finding of a remarkable man-like ape, *Australopithecus* at Taungs in Bechuanaland in South Africa, be regarded as a positive argument for the African origin of these types. For the age of that form is too recent to be of significance in this connection. Most authorities consider the age of this ape as Lower Quaternary, which makes him a contemporary of the Peking man and probably the Java man and Piltdown man as well. Even if Dr. Robert Broom's suggestion that these remains belong to the early Pliocene be substantiated, it must still be regarded as too recent to fall into the line of ancestry of the human race.

It would appear that much of the confusion now prevalent is due to the fact that too little attention is paid to the geological age of the various deposits. A part of this confusion is due to the incompleteness of the classification of the Quaternary or Psychozoic deposits and the very extensive time range given to the Pleistocene. This division is generally made to cover the greater part of the Quaternary, although it is commonly divided into a lower and upper Pleistocene. But the very fact that a single term is used for two time divisions, each of which was probably of long duration, obscures their essential distinctness and confuses the question of the time element involved.

Several years ago, I proposed the term POLYCENE² for the lower division of the Quaternary, restricting the name Pleistocene to the middle period in which the chief glacial epochs belong. The summit of the Polycene is generally drawn above the Cromer Forest bed of the British section although the *Yoldia myalis* bed may also be a member of the series. On the basis of marine invasions, the Polycene includes three subdivisions, which, with their equivalent continental formations as developed in Europe, are given in the following table:

<i>Marine phases</i>	<i>Continental phases</i>
3. Sicilian or 5th Mediterranean	3. Cromerian
2. Chillesfordian	2. Norfolkian or Saint-Prestian
1. Calabrian or 4th Mediterranean	1. Villefranchian

² A. W. GRABAU:—"Summary of Cenozoic and Psychozoic Deposits with Special Reference to Asia," *Bull. Geol. Soc. of China*, Vol. VI, 1927, Nos. 2 and 3, pp. 151-264 (p. 222).

It is in the Upper Polycene, the equivalent of the European Cromerian (Sicilian), that we must place the deposits of Choukoutien, in which the Peking Man, *Sinanthropus pekinensis*, has been found. In approximately this horizon we must also place the Piltown gravels of England, which have furnished *Eoanthropus dawsoni* and the Trinil deposits of Java, from which *Pithecanthropus erectus* was obtained. According to modern computations, the antiquity of these deposits is roughly one million years, and they belong some hundreds of thousands of years before the beginning of the Pleistocene proper with Neanderthal man.

The Heidelberg man, *Palæanthropus heidelbergensis*, also lived during the Polycene period, though his exact position in the Polycene scale is still undetermined, as is also that of *Homo* (*Palæanthropus?*) *palestinæ*. Thus it is seen that the Polycene is essentially the period of hominids of other genera than *Homo*. *Homo* himself first appears in, or at least is characteristic of, the Pleistocene proper, that is the middle Quaternary, and *Homo neanderthalensis* is characteristic of the early Pleistocene, using this term in its restricted sense. If the Cromagnon man is *Homo sapiens*, then this species makes its appearance in the later part of the Pleistocene. Culturally speaking, the Pleistocene is the period of the Palæolithic culture as heretofore understood, the Neolithic culture beginning with the Upper Quaternary or Holocene.

It is now known that the Polycene man, at least *Sinanthropus*, produced roughly dressed implements. Whether these primitive types are to be regarded as early Palæoliths (proto-palæoliths) or whether they are to be called Eoliths, using that term in a modified sense, or again whether a new term is desirable, will have to be determined by the students of these cultures. It is certain that still more ancient types of hominids would use natural stone fragments and that such could not be distinguished from the multitude of stone fragments produced by insolation and frost activities. I propose to designate such stone fragments, which may or may not have been used by early man, by the term *clastoliths*, and consider it highly probable that Pliocene hominids were users of clastoliths. Still earlier hominids (the hypothetical *Protanthropus*) probably used only sticks, as suggested by Osborn, and for this cultural period I have previously suggested the name *Xylonic*.³

³ *Loc. cit.*, page 223.

As a basis for further discussion, I may give here the table of primary divisions of the Quaternary and Tertiary:

B. QUATERNARY OR PSYCHOZOIC ERA.

B3. *Upper Quaternary or Holocene Period.*

Age of *Homo sapiens* and culturally beginning with the Neolithic or newer stone age and followed in turn by the metal age and finally by the manuscript age.

B2. *Middle Quaternary or Pleistocene Period.*

Characterized by glacial and interglacial periods in Europe and America and by loess deposits in China. Age of *Homo neanderthalensis*, followed by *Homo sapiens* (Cromagnon and other varieties). Culturally the Palæolithic age.

B1. *Lower Quaternary or Polycene Period.*

Locally characterized by minor glaciations (Günzian, Mindelian, etc.) but extensively by marine and continental deposits with widely distributed faunas. Age of *Sinanthropus*, *Eoanthropus* and *Pithecanthropus*, followed by *Palæanthropus*. Culturally the Eolithic or Proto-Palæolithic period.

A. TERTIARY OR CENOZOIC (KAINOZOIC) ERA.

III. Newer Tertiary or Neogene.

A5. *Pliocene. Meta-Mediterranean or Nipponian.*

Age of *Protanthropus* (hypothetical) (younger species) and culturally, probably the Clastolithic age.

A4. *Miocene. Ana-Mediterranean or Malaysian.*

First appearance of *Protanthropus* (hypothetical) and development of primitive species. Culturally the Xylonic age or age of wood though clastoliths may have come into use in the later Miocene.

II. Great period of Orogenic disturbance.

Elevation of the Alps, Carpathians, etc., and first elevation of the Himalayas.

I. Older Tertiary or Eogene.

(Pre-human periods).

A3. *Oligocene. Tongrian or Narian.*

Age of ancestral anthropoids, the *Baluchitherium*, etc.

A2. *Eocene. Parisian or Sindian.*A1. *Palæocene. Suessonian or Libyan.*

The base of the Cenozoic⁴ preceded by Mesozoic.

THEORY OF THE AFRICAN ORIGIN OF MAN.

Let us now return to a further discussion of the theory of the African origin of man, in the light of this geological classification. In a very instructive address, entitled *Early Man and the Associated Faunas in the Old World*, presented by Sir Arthur Smith-Woodward before the International Geological Congress, Washington, July, 1933 and published in *Science* (4th August, 1933), he favours Africa as the probable home of man, citing as new evidence the discoveries by Dr. L. S. B. Leakey in the Tanganyika territory of South-east Africa. In the Miocene deposits of that region, Leakey finds jaws and teeth of apes to be not uncommon. This, as we shall see later, is what should be expected, since these anthropoids are common in the Miocene deposits of the Sivaliks. Leakey also found human remains, with stone implements in Pleistocene deposits in the same territory. "The succession of types of stone implements is essentially similar to that already observed in Europe; and the fossil mammals of the older Pleistocene deposits [Polycene of Grabau's classification] like those in Europe include a few survivors from the Upper Pliocene fauna. The mammals of the late Pleistocene deposits [true Pleistocene of Grabau's classification] are little different from those that lived until the dawn of history in East Africa." (Smith-Woodward, *Loc. cit.*, page 92).

There is, however, one remarkable fact stressed by Smith-Woodward and that is that the human remains found associated with the implements and the older

⁴ The frequent inclusion of the Quaternary, together with the Tertiary in the Cenozoic or Kainozoic is to be deprecated since it does not give to these greater periods the independence which their extensive development deserves.

fauna are those of *Homo sapiens*. This is all the more surprising since one front of a human lower jaw found at Kanam, in association with molar teeth of upper Pliocene species of *Dinotherium* and *Mastodon* and remains of later types of African mammals, shows the characteristics of *Homo sapiens*. Associated with it are stone implements of Eolithic type, more primitive than the simplest Palæolithic implements (Chellian) of Western Europe.

Smith-Woodward concludes that "so far as can be determined from the fragments available, typical modern man appeared much earlier in South-east Africa than in Europe or Asia, though he had not advanced further than his backward northern contemporaries in the art of tool-making." "It is indeed remarkable," continues Smith-Woodward, "to find *Homo sapiens* with stone implements like those which were made by extinct genera of Hominidæ in Europe and Asia."

I am inclined to believe that the association indicates rather a decline in the art of tool-making in this African branch of the human family, possibly incident on the migration of *Homo sapiens* from the more northern district into tropical Africa, where the climate itself would act as a deterrent to such intellectual endeavor as is necessary for artistic production. Nor can I see that the evidence for the contemporaneity of this African species of *Homo* with the Polycene species of Hominids is at all established. The fact that *Dinotherium* and *Mastodon* teeth are associated with the remains of *Homo sapiens* may be capable of other explanation than contemporaneity. It may possibly indicate inclusion of weathered-out teeth from older beds in newer formation, a phenomenon very common throughout the whole geological history but seldom given its proper weight. Or it may be accounted for by the burial, intentional or accidental, of human remains in unconsolidated deposits of an earlier age.⁵ The possibility moreover of the survival of *Dinotherium* and *Mastodon* types in the Pleistocene, must be taken into account especially in view of the recent discoveries in America.

Remains of neither Neanderthal man (excepting the much more recent Rhodesian man, a Neanderthaloid

⁵ This is especially worthy of consideration since the district is one of much faulting, and remains of recent or Pleistocene *Homo* may be carried into the older deposits in an earthquake fissure.

survival) nor other primitive hominids have been found in South Africa and thus there is no palæontological evidence for the assumption of the African origin of the human race.

Finally, I hold that there is no reason why man should arise in Africa, for we know of no physical event which would set this special evolution going, no *Imperative Impetus*, such as was given in Southern Asia; and without such an impetus, so vast a divergence in the evolutionary trend could not have taken place. Moreover, the conditions of existence in Central and South Africa in Quaternary and probably in later Tertiary time as well, were conducive to the perpetuation of primitive types if they existed, or the deterioration, mentally if not physically, of higher types which had wandered into this region. For so far as we are able to judge, the climate of Central Africa in those days was mild if not tropical and sufficient food was probably obtainable by the simplest means, so that no premium was placed upon the cultivation of those mental faculties, which under severer conditions would have to be invoked to make it possible to cope with a hostile environment.

If the soundness of this reasoning be admitted, then it would appear that the remains of *Homo sapiens*, found in the Tanganyika District, may have been of members of that stock which originated in the more northerly countries in late Pleistocene time, and, wandering southward into regions of more or less tropical conditions, have succumbed to the deteriorating influence of such an environment, and that this accounts for the simple character of their implements. In other words, if these artifacts were really made by *Homo sapiens*, they may indicate decline in the art of tool-making. The presence of *Dinotherium* and *Mastodon* remains, if not fortuitous, or derived from older sediments, may likewise be explained as the persistence of primitive types, which became extinct at an earlier period elsewhere.

But even if further evidence should establish the existence of *Homo sapiens* in Africa during the Polycene era, this would bring us no nearer to the solution of the problem of the origin of the Hominids. It would merely lengthen the age of *Homo sapiens* by a few hundred thousand years. There is still a period of nearly twenty million years between the Polycene and the beginning of the Miocene which was the period when the Hominids diverged from the primitive ancestral anthropoid stock.

THE "IMPERATIVE IMPETUS" IN SOUTHERN ASIA.

We now turn to a consideration of the question of the Asiatic origin of man. We have found, it is true, so far no more convincing palæontological evidence than that presented by Africa, but we have on the other hand, the evidence of a unique and highly significant physiographic phenomenon, which was eminently competent to give the *imperative impetus* which relentlessly directed a portion of the anthropoid population into that pathway of evolution which has led to the development of the human race.

This determining phenomenon was the elevation of the Himalaya Mountains, at the beginning of the Miocene period. The east-west barrier thus produced between India and Tibet was the only one of the mountain barriers that were formed at this period, which produced a significant climatic change in an extensive portion of the continent involved. For neither the Alps nor Carpathians, nor any other of the mountain chains of Europe, formed at the beginning of the Miocene, produced barriers of the same effectiveness, as can readily be seen by a glance at the palæo-geographic maps of Europe. Nor did the Atlas Mountains of North Africa, which originated in the same period, form an effective climatic barrier capable of completely changing one portion of the region divided by it, and so far as we now know, there were no other mountain barriers formed in Africa at this critical period in the Earth's history. Only in Southern Asia were the conditions such that the elevation of the Himalayas completely cut off the northern region from the moisture-bearing winds of the Indian Ocean, and so effected the slow but progressive desiccation of that country.

That the physiographic and climatic conditions were much more uniform before the elevation of the Himalayas, is shown by the distribution of the Oligocene fauna of Asia. Although this fauna is only partially known as yet, we have at least one significant member which alone is sufficient to establish the fact of relative uniformity over much of Asia in Oligocene time.

The discovery of *Baluchitherium*, the giant hornless rhinoceros in the Oligocene deposits of Mongolia and Western China, furnished us with a key to the physiographic history of Asia in older Tertiary time. *Baluchitherium* was first discovered in the Oligocene beds of the Bugti Hills in Baluchistan, a region to the south of

the present Himalaya Mountains. The second discovery of this animal was made in the Turgai region of Russian Turkestan and although this fossil was named *Indricotherium* by Borissiak, its identity with the previously described *Baluchitherium* is universally admitted. The normal height of the head of this animal above the ground was 14 feet, but by stretching, it might easily have reached a point 16 feet above the ground (Osborn). As the animal was provided with short grinding teeth, like those of the browsing rhinoceros of to-day, it appears to have been eminently fitted to browse upon the leaves and succulent twigs of the forest trees among which it lived.

This leads to the natural inference that the range of its habitat was coincident with the range of its distribution and this would imply that in Oligocene time, the whole of Southern and Central Asia at least had the character of a moderately undulating plain, without barriers to the migration of these giant quadrupeds, and that the entire region was sufficiently well watered to permit the wide-spread growth of forests, which would furnish sustenance as well as shelter for this and other animals of the period.

That moisture-bearing winds swept the plains of Central Asia in Oligocene time, is further shown by the fact that this is a period of extensive coal formation in the Manchurian Provinces of Northern China. The well-known Fushun Series of Fêngtien, exploited in the Fushun coal fields, has furnished the remains of the Redwood *Sequoia langsdorfi*, which differs only in minor respect from the still living *Sequoia sempervirens* of the moist slopes and valleys of the coastal ranges of western North America. It is not at all improbable that if Oligocene beds exist below the great plains of China, they too will carry the remains of *Sequoia* and possibly include coal-bearing strata.

With this evidence of comparative uniformity of topography and of climate and the indications furnished by the wide extent of forest conditions over Asia in Oligocene time, we are justified in assuming that there was an equally wide-spread distribution of the Oligocene fauna, dependent upon such a habitat. We cannot doubt that the forest-living anthropoids of the Oligocene had a distribution not unlike that of the *Baluchitherium*, for they, like the latter, were dependent for their distribution on the extent of the forested country and the relative

uniformity of climate. It is true that there is at present a rather remarkable lack of fossil evidence for the existence of Oligocene anthropoids in Central Asia, but if we recognize that our knowledge of these formations is as yet very inadequate, and that the Oligocene formations themselves have been found in only a very few localities, we need not consider this apparent lack of palæontological evidence as significant. The fact that the Miocene beds of the Sivalik Hills, south of the Himalayas, carry the remains of a very highly specialized ape, *Dryopithecus*, indicates that forms of this type certainly existed at the beginning of Miocene time, and that if our interpretation of the pre-Miocene physical conditions of Asia is correct, such forms must have had a wide distribution. *Dryopithecus* has the characters requisite for an ancestral form of man as well as for the existing higher forms of apes, and it is probably from some members of this anthropoid group that man was derived. The remains of *Dryopithecus* are known from Southwestern Europe and its occurrence, or that of a still more primitive ancestral form, in the Oligocene beds of central Asia may confidently be predicted.

Dryopithecus continued throughout the Miocene, and it and the related genera *Palæopithecus* and *Sivapithecus* are the probable ancestors of the extinct African *Australopithecus* and the living anthropoids of Africa on the one hand, and of the living South Asiatic and Malayan forms on the other. But the anthropoids which were isolated by the rise of the Himalayas in Central Asia either suffered extinction or were forced into the new line of development which led to the human race. Let us consider the conditions which were instrumental in bringing about this great change.

It is a well-known fact that a mountain barrier of sufficient height stretching across the course of prevailing winds profoundly influences the precipitation of the moisture carried by these winds. As the winds rise against the mountain barrier, they not only reach cooler regions, but are compressed, and hence they will part with a very large proportion of their moisture. The windward side of such mountains is thus one of strong precipitation and the windward slopes will in consequence be covered with dense forests. Erosion on these slopes will be concentrated along the drainage lines, where profound canyons are cut, while weathering of the rock will be reduced to a minimum, owing to the dense cover-

ing of vegetation. On the leeward side of the mountain, however, the conditions will be very different. After crossing the mountains, the winds will descend, and in doing so will become warm and expand. As a result their capacity for moisture will be constantly increased, and they will satisfy it by drawing the moisture from the ground over which they pass. In other words they will become drying winds. Not only then will there be little or no rainfall on the leeward side of the mountain range, but there will be constant evaporation of the moisture drawn from the ground. The climate will be an arid one; there will be a lack of vegetation and of stream channels and the surface will be disintegrated and covered with screens of rock debris.

Perhaps the most striking example of a barrier across the path way of prevailing winds, is shown in the Andes Mountains of western South America. This is a north-south range of great length and between 0° and 30° S. Lat. it forms a barrier to the southeasterly trade winds. These therefore precipitate their moisture on the eastern slopes of the Andes, which as a result are densely forested, and there the head-waters of all the principal rivers of South America are found. The western slope of the Andes, on the other hand, though only a relatively short distance from the Pacific, is a barren waste, forming the Atacama desert, with its nitre deposits and its barren surfaces of rock ledges and rock debris. Other examples are seen in the Coast Ranges, the Sierras, and the Rocky Mountains of western North America, which stretch across the belt of westerly winds. There the windward side is on the west and this is the densely forested region, while the easterly or leeward slopes are generally barren and bordered by more or less extensive desert basins.

Southern and central Asia are characterized by the monsoonal winds which alternately blow from the oceans inland in the summer time, and in winter from the lands outward. In the absence of a mountain barrier across these winds, the moisture brought from the sea would be carried far inland and generally distributed and this was the condition in Oligocene time, before the Himalayas had arisen. As soon as these mountains, however, had come into existence they formed a barrier to the winds from the Indian Ocean, and these winds therefore left most of their moisture on the southern or windward slopes. This condition still obtains in the Himalaya regions,

where are some of the localities of the heaviest precipitation known. On crossing the mountains, however, these winds became, then as now, drying winds; and as the Tibetan Plateau was probably not as high in Miocene time as it is now, the drying effect of these winds was probably more pronounced at that period.

It was this drying of the Tibetan region during Miocene and Pliocene time that was the chief factor which inaugurated the new line of evolution, and provided the new impetus in that direction. As the winds carried on their operation of drying the country, the ground water level inevitably sank, and this spelt destruction to the vegetation. Those plants which had shallow roots succumbed first, while eventually the forest trees also fell victims to this changing environment, as the ground-water level sank to the point where their roots could no longer reach it.

It is a well accepted dictum that man's evolution began when the anthropoids left the forest for the open, but we are not generally told why they left the forest. What could possibly induce them to leave a congenial habitat for a difficult and trying one, if there was no compulsion? I do not believe that it was because they left the forest and arboreal life, that anthropoids started their new line of development. But instead it was the forest that left the anthropoids and so gave them no choice whatever. With increasing desiccation, the progressive death of the forests was inevitable, and since the mountain barrier which was responsible for this change also made it impossible for these dispossessed anthropoids to migrate to the unaffected regions on the south, they were compelled to adapt themselves to the newly developing environment or perish. Undoubtedly the great majority of the anthropoids thus deprived of their normal environment perished in consequence, and only a few were capable of carrying on existence under the new conditions forced upon them. It was a magnificent operation of the law of Natural Selection, since for each thousands of incompetents and inadaptatable ones which perished, one adaptable individual survived, to begin the slow and painful ascent which has brought mankind towards its present eminence, a progress which has probably consumed some twenty million years of time.

While thus the dispossessed north of the Himalayas were beginning their long and painful struggle with an environment of increasing hostility, their brethren on the

south remained essentially in the conditions in which they had previously existed and thus found no reason whatever for leaving their arboreal home. Or if any of them attempted to do so, their feeble efforts in the new direction were quickly nullified by their inability to maintain themselves in such a radically foreign environment, surrounded as they were by the multitude of well-adapted forest dwellers.

I maintain that there is no particle of evidence whatever which would permit us to assume that anthropoids voluntarily left the forest to assume life in the open. No mental glimmerings of the possibilities of a better life to come as a result of such a change would have the least influence in starting the anthropoids on a new path of development, even if we can make the assumption that these anthropoids were able to reason out that a long course of rigid and harsh discipline would ultimately, in the very distant future, give their descendants an advantage over their well-fed and well-housed arboreal relatives. Instead of embarking on a hominid line of evolution, the progress of the anthropoids followed essentially the line pursued throughout the preceding periods. Progress was primarily in the distinctive Simian characters and the migration of the types in opposite direction south of the Himalaya barrier resulted, on the one hand, in the appearance of the African gorilla and chimpanzee, and on the other, in the east, that of the gibbon and the orang-outang.

I have elsewhere⁶ proposed the term *Protanthropus* for the early type of hominid which came into existence on the Tibetan Plain (now Tibetan Plateau as the result of further elevation), because of the enforced line of development due to the changing habitat. This type must have been far more primitive than any of the hominids now known, and it lived at a much earlier period. *Protanthropus* was probably the Miocene and perhaps early Pliocene man, and most probably his only weapons were sticks from the branches of the dead forest trees. That is he lived in the *Xylonic Age*. It is natural to suppose that in their early enforced bipedal progress in the open, which was not only novel but exceedingly trying if not painful, these creatures would quickly learn to make use of fallen branches as aids, since the instinct to grasp a stick, as their ancestors grasped the living

⁶ ANDREWS: *Natural History of Mongolia*, Vol. I.

branches, would probably survive in the race for a long time. And it is the wedging into the split end of such a stick, of an angular fragment of stone, that probably led to the discovery that flint-tipped sticks produced a far more effective weapon than those not so provided. Such angular fragments of rock must have been scattered about plentifully, for one effect of the development of desert conditions is the production of rock fragments by insolation. *Protanthropus*, even after he had discovered the use of rock fragments, had no need for the production of implements, since fragments of all kinds were scattered about ready for his use. It is such natural fragments which were available for his use which I have proposed to call *clastoliths*, irrespective of whether they were or were not used by *Protanthropus*. It was not until long after, probably in late Pliocene or even Polycene time, when primitive man had wandered northward into the Tarim Basin, where he found only water-worn pebbles and boulders, that by an accident he discovered that an angular fragment could be produced by breaking or chipping such water-worn stones. That was the beginning of Proto-Palæolithic culture.

I wish here to stress the point that progress at this early date was due rather to the fact that now and then an individual with a more alert primitive mentality than that of his fellows was in a position to take advantage of an accidental discovery. It is quite probable that for innumerable generations *Protanthropus* was familiar with surfaces covered with angular stone fragments. He may indeed have learned to avoid as much as possible such surfaces, since walking over them would certainly have painful results. But to make use of such fragments for domestic purposes required the exercise of a mentality above the average, a distinct act of reasoning from effect back to cause and onward again to desirable effects. Once shown the use of such implements, the common herd of primitive hominids would quickly learn to adopt them. In like manner, the tipping of sticks with flints was most certainly an accidental discovery. Most probably the accidental wedging of a sharp flint into the base of a split stick used by *Protanthropus* in his painful upright progress, was a frequent occurrence, but only under exceptional conditions, where one such stick was used in warfare by an individual of superior mentality, would its real significance and value be discovered. After that it would soon become common property. The chipped flint

industry probably had a similar birth. An exceptionally gifted individual recognized the value of a broken water-worn pebble and having observed the manner in which such a fragment was broken, perhaps by being thrown against a larger boulder, he would come to realize that stone implements can be manufactured in places where nature did not provide them, that is in regions where the rock fragments were all water-worn, as in the channels of the streams along the southern border of the Tarim Basin.

We may apply the same method of reasoning to the discovery of the uses of fire by primitive man. There is plentiful evidence of the existence of fire throughout all the later geological periods. Indeed we may say that wherever forests existed on the surface of the earth, they were occasionally set on fire by lightning. Forest fires are perhaps the greatest evil that threatens the dwellers in the forest, and from it they flee in terror. But on the primitive hominids, who no longer dwelled in the forests, the burning of a dead tree at a distance had no longer the same terrifying effect. Indeed, the spectacle, if it occurred at night, might have attracted the bolder among them. Such an individual drawing nearer to the phenomenon, would experience the warming effect of the fire. For we must take into account the fact, that with the development of the desert conditions, there was also a corresponding change in climate, and especially a very marked diurnal change in temperature from extremely hot days to chillingly cold nights. Approaching the burning tree on such a cold night, the increasing warmth would be felt just as its decrease would become apparent on withdrawal. To connect this change in temperature with the burning bush would be a process of simple reasoning, such as we may assume an occasional *Protanthropus* would be capable of. A fallen branch, still aflame, might easily come within reach of an individual of exceptional boldness, who, if he has the temerity to seize this branch and carry it to where his timid family sat shivering, would become the originator of the first camp fire. For long ages primitive man had the use of fire only by keeping it perpetually alive, and the possessor of this heaven-sent gift, able as he was to dispense it to other and less courageous groups, would easily gain the supremacy in any such community.

We do not know when or by what agency primitive man learnt to make fire, but we may assume that it was at a very much later date in his evolution, probably at

the end of Tertiary time and probably not until he had discovered the making of flint implements. It is indeed quite probable that the two were connected, for a spark struck from a flint might have set on fire a bit of dry grass or other convenient tinder accidentally present.

With increasing population the scarcity of food would drive man, who had by now become omnivorous, to seek new habitations. He was prevented from going southward by the Himalayas, eastward by the Tibetan Alps, and westward by other mountains and by deserts of even more pronounced extent. The direction of migration open to him was northward, and since the Kwenlun, that borders the Tarim Basin on the south, is a much less formidable mountain range than the others, and was probably even less so in Polycene or even in Pliocene time, he eventually reached the Tarim Basin in Chinese Turkestan. This basin is to-day a desert, but there is ample evidence in the stratified silt and clay deposits which underlie the sand dunes, that it was a well-watered region in Polycene time. Here man probably found a congenial habitat, one somewhat approaching that from which his ancestors were expelled, though not sufficiently enervating in climate to have a retarding influence on his development. It is probable that if the stratified clays below the sand dunes could be exploited, remains of primitive man and of his earliest culture would be discovered, for it is probably in this region that he discovered the art of making chipped stone implements.

It was from this new center of distribution that primitive man migrated eastward on the one hand and westward on the other, for this has always been the great route of Asiatic travel, at least since early Pliocene (Pontian) time. It is probable that primitive man simply followed the animals in their east and west migration, for these had become necessary to him both for food and for the skins which they furnished. That man reached the opposite extremes of the Eurasiatic continent, is attested by the remains of the Piltdown man in England and those of *Sinanthropus* in East China.

Dr. Eliot Smith evidently entirely misunderstood my meaning when he says "one of the arguments that Dr. Grabau uses in support of his theory is the facility with which primitive man *who came into existence in the Sinkiang Province*⁷ could have wandered east to Peking

⁷ Italics are mine.

and west to Piltdown and south to Java. This suggestion takes no account of the vast period of time which elapsed between the raising up of the Himalayas in the Miocene and the migration of the Peking Man at the beginning of the Pleistocene [Polycene]. There is an interval of 20 or 30 million years between these two events."⁸ Neither in the article referred to ("Asia and the Evolution of Man," *China Journal*, March, 1930) nor elsewhere, have I suggested that man originated in the Tarim Basin. He reached that district by migration from the Tibetan region on the south and it was not until the end of Pliocene time that he probably occupied this region as a new found home. I do not believe that there was much opportunity for wandering by *Protanthropus* prior to this, since his original habitat was enclosed by mountains, and his wider migration could only take place after he had reached the Tarim Basin. Once there, however, migration east and west became easy. But by this time he was already a more specialized *Anthropus*, the ancestor of *Sinanthropus* on the one hand and *Eoanthropus* on the other. *Pithecanthropus* may well have been a derivative of this early stock, which on first reaching the central Asiatic Basin, migrated south-eastward into Cathaysia, where under tropical conditions his further development was probably retarded. But we now know that *Sinanthropus* fashioned stone implements (Proto-Palæoliths) and that he had the use of fire, which by this time he had probably learned to make. He is thus culturally much more highly developed than *Protanthropus* of the Tibetan home, and he probably brought his culture with him from the Central Asiatic Basin.

PLEISTOCENE MAN.

Until recently, practically no remains of Pleistocene man have been found in China, though recent discoveries seem to indicate that he existed here toward the end of that period. The Pleistocene was a period of repeated glaciation in Europe and eastern North America, but, except for local mountain glaciers, there was probably no widespread glaciation in Asia. In China this was primarily the period of loess deposition. If Pleistocene time began 500,000 years ago, the length of the Polycene period was probably of similar duration, long enough at

⁸ "The Search for Man's Ancestors," *The Forum Series*, p. 54.

any rate for man to have reached the generic status of *Homo*, though probably at first he was no higher than *H. neanderthalensis*. If the earlier type of man had their center of distribution in the Tarim Basin, as seems likely, it is probable that the home of Pleistocene man was not far removed from this. It is not likely that he continued in this basin, because this and the Gobi were beginning to undergo a marked desiccation in Pleistocene time. We may briefly consider the facts that point to the changes here in progress.

It is a well-known fact that the product of disintegration of the crystalline rocks is both quartz-grains and clay, the latter derived from the decomposition of the feldspar. From the relative proportion of these minerals in the undecomposed rocks, it appears that the decomposition and disintegration products should be much richer in clay than in quartz. River flood-plains and lake deposits will always be more or less a mixture of the two, though in the latter there is likely to be more assorting than in the former. In basins of interior drainage, these mixed deposits must all accumulate upon the basin floor, and the only way in which material can be removed from the basin is by the wind. Winds, however, will only remove the clay from the basin, leaving the quartz behind as pure sand. But in the process of drifting and shifting, these sand grains will abrade one another, so that eventually rounded grains only remain. The material abraded is quartz flour, and this too can be carried away by the wind. It is thus apparent that a region in which to-day there are only quartz sand dunes, has been subjected to long deflation and that the clay and quartz flour have been carried away. A certain amount of quartz sand may no doubt originate from the destruction of quartz sandstone. But since, in Central Asia at least, such quartz sands are always interbedded with clay and other rocks, it is certain that an equal amount of finer material will also be included in the basin deposit. Thus we are again dependent upon the wind for the purification of such a deposit, until only the sand grains remain behind.

If then vast amounts of clay and rock flour have been removed from one part of a region, we must search for localities where this material accumulates as a wind deposit. The loess of China satisfies these requirements and we are nearly all agreed that the loess is a dust deposit and that the dust was brought from Central Asia in Pleistocene time. The loess has often been compared

with the modern dust deposits of the Peking region, but the dust storms of Peking, raised by the cold monsoon winds from Mongolia, are local phenomena and so far as known, no dust is brought to-day from central Asia. To bring dust from this distant region requires winds that are many times as strong as those experienced in North China to-day. When, however, we realize that in Pleistocene time, an enormous ice cap covered the greater part of Europe, while eastern Asia was free from it, we can understand that strong winds would blow outward from the ice-covered regions to the warmer area, and that such winds would have an intensity vastly exceeding the monsoonal winds of to-day. Such winds would also be drying winds, for they blow from a colder to a warmer region. It was doubtless these winds, blowing across the Tarim and the Gobi regions, that were responsible for progressive desiccation of these basins; and it was they that picked up the finer particles and carried them to China, where they now form the loess.

It is not likely that man could continue in the Tarim and Gobi Basins, after this desiccation had become pronounced, nor is it likely that he would migrate in any large numbers⁹ into China, where the cold and dust-laden winds were blowing, if the much milder dust storms of to-day can be used as a criterion. But he could exist nearer to the border of the ice sheet, where, although cold prevailed, the air was clear and the conditions of existence, though hard, were not impossible. I believe that it is in the region of Russian Turkestan and of Western Siberia that we are most likely to find the centre of distribution of man in Pleistocene time and that the successive invasions of Pleistocene man along the southern border of the ice-sheet in Europe was from this region.

Not until the end of Pleistocene time, when the ice melted away and the dust-bearing winds no longer continued to blow, was man again able to enter China and spread widely over eastern Asia. So far as is now known *Homo sapiens* came to China in late Pleistocene time bringing with him an Upper Palæolithic culture. But

⁹ A few Palæolithic artefacts and associated remains of *Homo* have been obtained from the loess deposits, etc., thus indicating that Man was not entirely excluded from China during the Pleistocene proper. But present indications suggest that such eastward migration of Pleistocene man was an uncommon event, until the disappearance of the ice sheets, and the consequent cessation of the cold, dust-laden winds.

it was in the Holocene period, when man had entered the Neolithic stage of culture, that he fully established himself. Remains of this culture are widespread in the deposits above the loess and this points to an intimate association of the distribution of man with the changes in climate, and the physical events responsible for them.





Illustration 1.

This painting was brought to Peking in 1917 by a dealer from Shensi province and was said to have been painted by a foreign artist—probably Matteo Ricci. This attribution lacks confirmation of any kind. It is more likely that it was painted by a foreign missionary of the Mohammedan faith. It was a very large picture, seven feet in height.

PAINTERS AMONG CATHOLIC MISSIONARIES AND THEIR HELPERS IN PEKING.

By JOHN C. FERGUSON, PH.D.

Some additional knowledge has accumulated since the appearance of previous papers on this subject and in its light earlier investigations may be supplemented. In 1910 Dr. Berthold Laufer published an article on "Christian Art in China" in *Mitteil. des Seminars für Oriental. Sprachen* and in January, 1912 another in *The Open Court* on "A Chinese Madonna." In *T'oung Pao*, Vol. XX, 1921, Professor Paul Pelliot has an excellent article on "La peinture et la gravure européennes en Chine au temps de Mathieu Ricci." In the first paragraph of this article seven western painters who worked in the Peking palaces are listed. These are Attiret, Castiglione, Sickelpart, Damascene, Panzi, Belleville and Gherardini. In the same volume, p. 183, Professor Pelliot has another article on "Les Conquêtes de l'Empereur de la Chine" in which he discusses the sixteen engravings prepared for the emperor Ch'ien Lung by Europeans and executed in France. The Europeans engaged in this work were Sickelpart (Sichelbart), Castiglione (Castilhoni), Attiret, and Damascene. In these two articles by Professor Pelliot there is much valuable information, but it is incomplete as to painters. The object of this paper is to include all known European painters and to trace the continuous history of European painting in the Court from the time of Ricci, 1601, to the expulsion of the missionaries two hundred years later. I have included among the painters Ricci and Benoist as helpers, for both of them did almost as much as any of the painters themselves to bring European painting to the attention of China's rulers.

1. Ricci, Li Ma-tou (利瑪竇). There have been persistent statements that this pioneer missionary in addition to his well-known talents as a mathematician and geographer was also a painter. I have seen five or six paintings, brought to me by dealers, which have been attributed to him, all of them resembling in composition and brushstrokes the one which I have chosen in Illustration 1. None of these paintings could be verified and must be treated as forgeries; but I do not find it possible to dismiss as impossible or even unlikely the current tradition that he also painted. We know that he worked for many years on the map of the world. The Chinese name of this map is given by Pfister in his *Notices Biographiques* as Wan Kuo Yü T'u (萬國輿圖), but in the *Ming History*, fol. 326, under *Italy* (意大里亞), it is called Wan Kuo Ch'üan T'u (萬國全圖). Ricci presented this map to the emperor Wan Li in the beginning of the year 1608. His self imposed training as a cartographer would have given him mastery of the hand and wrist, primary qualifications for an artist. We know also that scholarly gentlemen of his time frequently painted as a pastime just as young ladies of our generation turn to music and singing. Henri Bernard, S.J., in *Aux Portes de la Chine*, p. 231, says that Ricci planned to appear before the Chinese as an expert "in painting and sculpture" as well as in mathematics and other subjects.

We have specimens of Ricci's handwriting in annotations to three paintings, True Sketches, and to the album of ink tablets of Ch'êng Yu-po reproduced in *Mo Fa Chi Yao* by T'ao Lan-ch'üan. One page of the annotations was reprinted in *Bulletin* Number Six of the Catholic University of Peking, p. 91. The first picture is of Christ speaking to Peter as he sank in the water while trying to walk on the sea. The title of the painting written from right to left is "Believe and Tread the Sea"—*hsin êrh pu hai* (信而步海). It is signed Ou Lo Pa Li Ma Tou—the European Mathew Ricci. Two seals are attached, one oval and one square, on both of which are inscribed I.H.S. The second scene represents the two disciples on the road to Emmaus when Christ suddenly appeared and walked with them. It is labeled "The Two Disciples Hear the Truth"—*êrh t'u wên shih* (二徒聞實). The third scene depicts Lot and his wife fleeing from the burning city of Sodom—*yin sê wei ch'i* (淫色穢氣). The annotation of the second and third pictures is signed



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Illustration 2.

Specimen of writing by Ricci with quill. This is the colophon at the end of the annotation in honor of Ch'êng Yu-po.

Mathew Ricci, S.J., on the first day of the twelfth moon in the *i-ssü* year, the thirty-third year of Wan Li (i.e. A.D. 1605). In the signature occurs a phrase *yü pao hsiang san tso* (遇寶像三座) which Laufer suggests as a reference to the Trinity and which D'Elia in an article in the *Collectanea Com. Syn.*, 1933, Num. 8/9, claims to refer to the three letters I.H.S. of Ricci's seal as if the phrase was intended to be a translation of *locus sigilli*. It seems to me that both of these interpretations are forced and that the plain meaning of the phrase is "having found three splendid paintings." The term *pao hsiang* (寶像) may be written either as Ricci wrote it or as 寶相, and its usual meaning is Buddhistic paintings. It was a term which Ricci seems to have considered applicable also to paintings of Christian scenes and was used by Ricci in his memorial to the Emperor as is recorded in the *Hsü Wên T'ing Kung Chi* (徐文定公集), *chuan shou, hsia*, p. 10. This opinion is confirmed by the heading of the section in *Mo Fa Chi Yao* which Mr. T'ao gives as *Li Ma Tou T'i Pao Hsiang T'u*, i.e. Mathew Ricci's Annotations of Precious Paintings.

There is a fourth picture reproduced in T'ao's book. It is the well-known Madonna and Child made in Japan in 1597 and described by Laufer and Pelliot. It has no annotation. There is, however, a fourth annotation which is a panegyric upon literature in honor of Ch'êng Yu-po (Ch'êng Ta-yo), the author of *Ch'êng Shih Mo Yüan*. The Chinese text of the annotations was written with a Chinese pen in a good style of handwriting, and the Romanized sounds by Ricci with a quill as stated by him at the end of the fourth annotation [Illustration 2].

The *Ch'êng Shih Mo Yüan* is a book difficult to find in a complete form and usually the section devoted to the designs prepared by Ricci is omitted. Mr. T'ao Lan-ch'ian has achieved a praise-worthy feat by reproducing this section along with the section depicting a wolf hunt on Chung Shan in his *Mo Fa Chi Yao*. Ricci probably prepared these cuts for Ch'êng's reproduction in the hope that they would serve a useful missionary purpose. The *Hua Shih Hui Chuan* says that Ricci brought with him to China some sketches which from the description seem to have been etchings. These cuts given to Ch'êng may have been taken from these sketches. They are another confirmation of our knowledge of the versatility of Ricci's talents and add to the probability of the truth of the tradition that he was also a painter, though it is

possible that Ricci's reputation as a painter arose from the self-abnegation of a Sino-Japanese disciple (*mezzo giappone*) Jacques Niva (倪雅谷, 一誠), who arrived in Peking in July or August, 1602 (Ricci I, 439, and II, 251) and had been trained in a seminary in Japan as a painter. It is quite possible that outsiders considered paintings that were done in the Mission as the work of the well-known Ricci whereas they were in reality painted by the unobtrusive Niva.

2. Fiori, Fei (費). His Christian name was Christophe and he arrived in Peking in 1694. He was an Italian who had been trained as a painter. He left Peking in 1705. None of his work has survived. There is no record that Fiori was ever attached to the Court but considering the close relations between the missionaries and the Emperor, it is likely that Fiori painted in the Palace.

3. Gherardini. This name is spelled Ghirardine and also Gerardino. A full account of the arrival of this Italian painter, a layman, in China in 1698 and of his life is given by Professor Pelliot in *Le Premier Voyage de L'Amphitrite, Librairie Orientaliste*, 1930, and need not be repeated. He painted in oil in the Palace for several years but none of his work has been found. His Chinese surname was Nien (年) but I have never seen his full name.

4. Belleville, Wei Chia-lu (衛嘉祿). His Christian name was Charles. He was born in 1656, became Frère de Belleville in 1679 and arrived in China in 1698. He was a sculptor and architect but according to Froger's *Relation du premier voyage des Francois*, p. 116, he was also a painter of miniatures.

5. Ripa, Ma Kuo-hsien (馬國賢). His Christian name was Matteo or Matthieu. A full account of this remarkable man may be found in *Memoirs of Father Ripa, during Thirteen Years' Residence in the service of the Emperor of China*, abridged and translated from the Italian (3 vols.) and published in London, 1846, by John Murray. He arrived at Macao, January 2, 1710, on a special mission from Clement XI to the Legate de Tournon who had been thrown into prison in that place. Ripa did not belong to any Order. On learning that the Emperor K'ang Hsi desired to secure the services of an European painter he applied for and secured the appointment, though, as far as can be ascertained, he had had no previous training in this art further than the general

education of a scholarly gentleman of his period. He arrived in Peking on February 3, 1711, and entered the Palace four days later.

In his *Memoirs*, p. 54, he relates his first meeting with Gerardino. "According to the command of his Majesty, on the 7th day of February I went to the palace, and was conducted to the room of the oil-painters, who were the pupils of a certain Gerardino, the first who introduced the art of painting in oil into China. After giving me a polite reception, these gentlemen offered me brushes, colours, and canvas, that I might proceed to paint in their presence. For their paintings in oil they do not employ canvas, but corea paper, with no further preparation than a mere wash of rock-alum water. This paper is often sold in sheets as large as a blanket, and is so strong that I was not able to tear it. Being aware of my want of skill in the art of design, I had never ventured to paint any subject of my own invention, limiting my ambition to the production of moderate copies; but as copies are not at all esteemed by the Chinese, I found myself in no slight difficulty. I however took courage on observing that all the other painters, to the number of seven or eight, painted nothing but landscapes with Chinese houses, the Emperor caring but little for pictures of figures, as I was afterwards informed. Landscape-painting being by no means impossible to any one who possesses a moderate knowledge of drawing the human figure, I recommended my efforts to the direction of God, and began to do what I had never before undertaken. Happily my success was such that the Emperor was very well satisfied. Thus I continued to paint till the month of April, when his Majesty was pleased to command that I should betake myself to engraving."

That he was a novice when he secured the appointment as a Court painter may be seen from his own statements on pp. 32-3. "After duly considering the indignities to which our holy religion was exposed in his own person and in those of the missionaries, his Eminence resolved to address a remonstrance to the Viceroy at Canton, and at the same time to transmit with it a dispatch for the Emperor, announcing his promotion to the rank of Cardinal, and the arrival of six missionaries, three of whom were acquainted with mathematics, music, and painting. His Eminence was induced to take this step by the recollection that, when he was at Peking, the Emperor had asked him to write, in his name, to the Pope

for some missionaries skilled in the arts and sciences; and he now hoped to recover the favour of the monarch by sending him Father Fabri, Don Pedrini, and myself in the above capacities. When I heard that, by this arrangement, I was doomed to quit my favourite vocation for the purpose of cultivating an art of which I knew only the rudiments, I could not refrain from expressing my bitter dissatisfaction; but reflecting that it was at that moment impossible to benefit the cause of our religion as a missionary, I soon resigned myself to obedience."

That he was clever enough to be able to make a good appearance appears from his *Memoirs*, pp. 35-6. "Having finished two pictures, which I had begun at Macao, for the Emperor, I presented them to the Viceroy, and he forwarded them to his Celestial Majesty, with firing of mortars, as is customary whenever anything is sent to this monarch. He then sent me an old picture representing Confucius on his knees before the idol Lee-lao-keon, which he desired me to copy for the Emperor. As I could not undertake such an idolatrous task, I immediately went to him; and he in consequence of my being about to enter the service of the sovereign, came to meet me at the gate. On my telling him that my religion did not permit me to copy the picture, he apologised, saying that he was not acquainted with the dogmas of our faith, and added that he would send me another. After a pretty long conversation I took leave, and he did me the honour of accompanying me back to the gate. He accordingly sent a picture; and in order to ascertain the truth of a report which had been spread, that I knew nothing of painting, he at the same time ordered me to draw the portrait of a living Chinese. He also deputed a great number of people to come and see me work, till at length perceiving that I had been slandered, he condemned the originator of the calumny to receive thirty lashes. As soon as the copy and the portrait were finished, he desired me to paint eight more; and, as if they could be blown with a breath like glass bottles, he sent next morning to inquire how many I had made."

There is no record of any further meetings between Gerardino and Ripa after their first one when Ripa was introduced to the Palace. Ripa was evidently not a success as a painter for he records on p. 70 that the Emperor enquired of him and his two companions whether or not they "understood anything besides music,

mathematics and painting." Though they replied in the negative Ripa said that he knew something about "the theory, though not the practice of the art of engraving on copper with aquafortis." Whereupon Ripa became an engraver and later trained two young men in this art at the request of the Emperor. His life in the Palace could not have been agreeable to him, for he soon began to plan to take his leave. He says on p. 132: "After surmounting various obstacles, which need not be detailed, on the 15th of November, 1723, I at last left that Babylon, Peking, with my four pupils and their Chinese master, myself in one litter, the two youngest boys in another, the other three and two servants on horseback. The wind blew so furiously that it upset our litters several times, and it was intensely cold."

On his return to Naples in 1724 he founded a College for Chinese which was the first of its kind in Europe. It lasted till 1888 when it was dissolved by the Italian Government. A brief account of it may be found in *The China Review*, XVII, pp. 112-3.

6. Castiglione, Lang Shih-ning (郎世寧). He was a Brother Coadjutor of the Jesuit Order. He was born at Milan, July 19, 1688, and died in Peking, July 16, 1766. He arrived in Peking in 1715 and Ripa acted as interpreter during his first audience with the Emperor in November of that year as recorded in Ripa's *Memoirs*, p. 89. Castiglione had had good training as a painter and he soon won for himself such distinction that he holds in Chinese estimation the premier place among the Europeans who have painted in this country. In the *China Journal*, Vol. XII, 1930, p. 24, I gave a photograph of the tablet to Castiglione in the Outer Wall of the Church at Shah-la, outside the P'ing-tse Mên, Peking. The translation of the Chinese inscription is as follows:

"Lang Shih-ning (Castiglione), a European, served in the Court from the reign of K'ang Hsi. He was diligent and prudent in discharging his duties and was promoted to the third grade of official rank. With regret we learn of his death. In consideration of his long years of service and his advanced age of nearly eighty years, he should be given, following the precedent of Ignatius Kogler (Tai Chin-hsien), the posthumous title of Shih Lang (vice-President of a Board). A sum of three hundred taels should further be granted for his funeral expenses as a special mark of our profound sympathy."

This is not the original headstone of the grave of Castiglione which is No. 82 in the Plan reproduced by

Cordier, col. 1028, *Biblio. Sin.* II, from Favier's *Peking*. Favier took it from Trigault. The headstone was destroyed in 1900 and this was engraved during the work of reconstruction. It will be noted that it does not give in either Chinese or Latin text the date of Castiglione's birth. The second character of his name in Chinese is incorrectly given by Planchet, 148, as 士 instead of the character 世 which is always found as his signature on paintings. Cordier does not include him in his list of Jesuit missionaries. When I first tried to get information concerning him I found in Favier's *History of the Catholic Mission in Peking* (in Chinese), Vol. II, p. 68, the statement that he was born in 1698 and I used this date in my *Catalogue of Chinese Paintings of the Metropolitan Museum* and in my *Chinese Painting*. Following the statement of the tablet that he was a Hsiyang man, I presumed that this term was used in its narrower sense of Portuguese but now know that it was meant in its wider sense of European. I gave the date of his death as 1768 in my *Chinese Painting*, obtaining my information from the same source as Waley in his *Index of Chinese Artists*. I do not know where Waley learned that Castiglione came to China in 1730, but the confusion of dates is indeed not surprizing, for it is most difficult to obtain accurate information. However, it may now be considered that the dates for the birth and death of Castiglione given at the beginning of this sketch of his life are accurate.

In the I Shu Chuan, III, p. 7, of the recently published *Draft of the History of the Ch'ing Dynasty* there is the following entry:

"Lang Shih-ning (郎世寧) was an European and came to the service during the reign of K'ang Hsi. He was particularly favored by the emperor Ch'ien Lung who ordered him to paint all his famous horses as well as curious birds, flowers and plants. Every one of these paintings was vivid and the colors applied were wonderfully beautiful. His paintings excelled those of Chiao Ping-chên (焦秉貞) and his followers.

"Ai Ch'i-mêng (艾啟蒙) was also an European. His skill in painting was inferior to that of Lang Shih-ning."

In the article in the *China Journal* already quoted I gave a complete list of the paintings of Joseph Castiglione. Among these his portrait of the emperor Ch'ien Lung, the long scroll of the One Hundred Horses, the White Hawk (Illustration 3), and The Hound represent his best work. He was a man of gentle manners

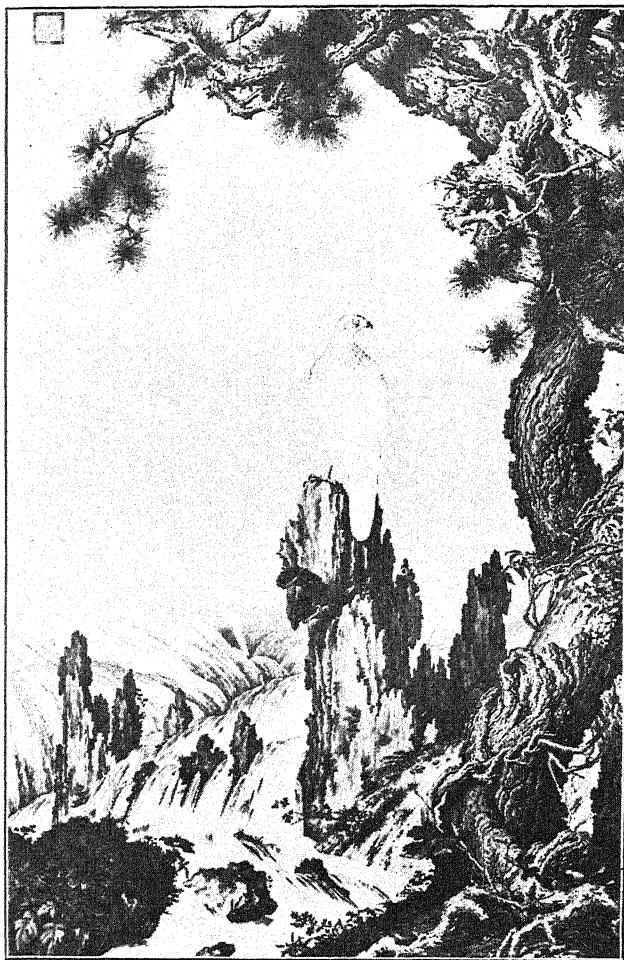
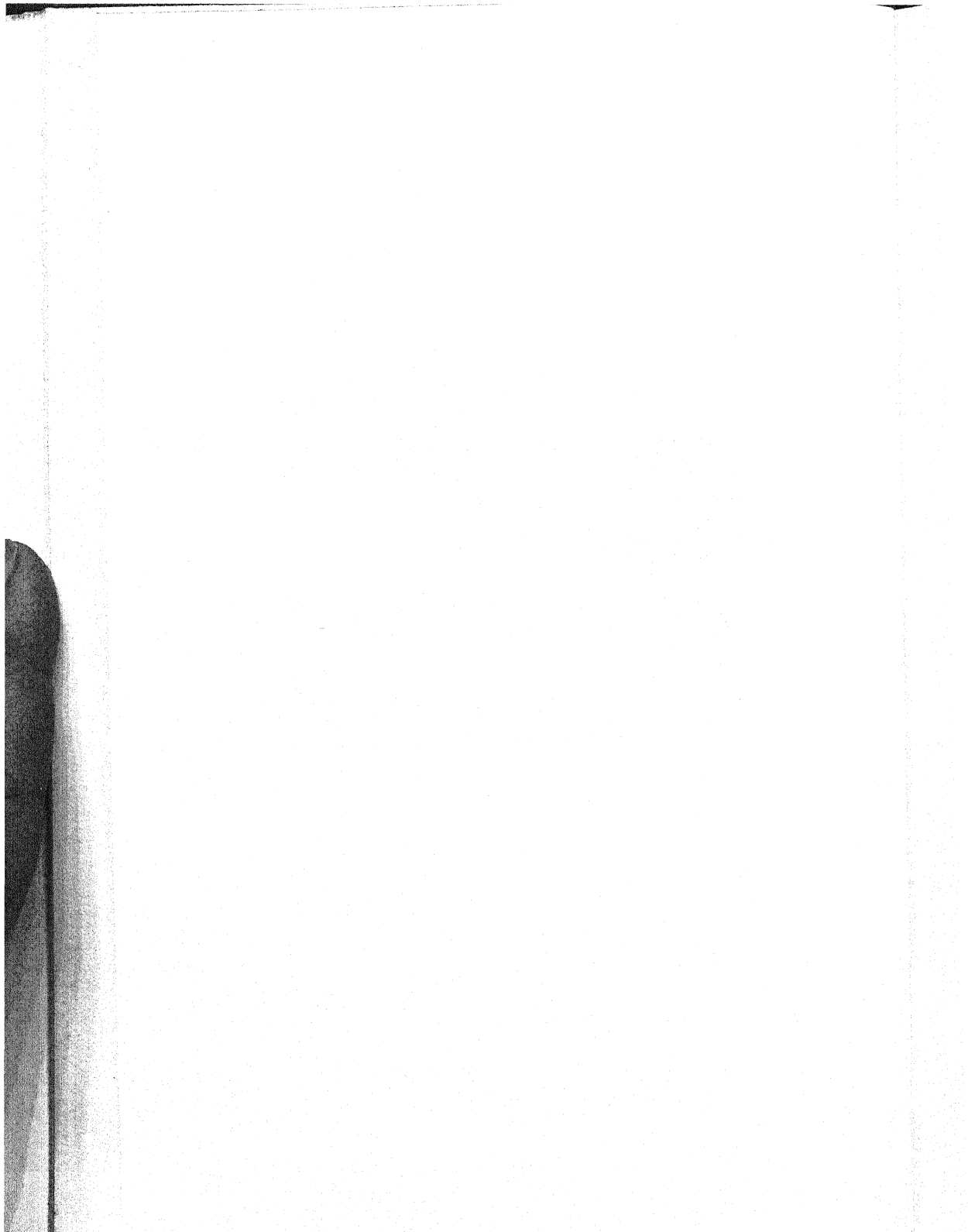


Illustration 3.

The name of this painting occurs in the colophon. It is "Sung Hsien Ying Chih", and it was probably assigned to Castiglione as a subject of a painting which the Emperor requested him to make. This was a common occurrence in the Palace and accounts for the phrase that "in a poem there is a picture." The meaning of this phrase assigned to Castiglione is "the grand display of brilliant resplendence" but by an enigmatical representation of the sounds *sung* becomes a pine tree, *hsien* remains with its original meaning of display, *ying* becomes a hawk and *chih* fungus. The resultant picture is a white hawk displaying its noble figure on a rock from which a fungus may be seen growing and under the over-spreading branches of a pine tree. The colophon gives the signature of Castiglione and the date, the tenth moon of the second year of Yung Ch'eng, i.e. 1724.



and quiet life but, along with Ricci, Schall and Verbiest, he is an outstanding representative of Western culture. In the face of proud and often hostile opposition these four great men won respect and admiration. All later generations of westerners owe them an everlasting debt of deep obligation.

7. Attiret, Jean Denis, Tê-ni (德尼), Wang Chih-ch'êng (王致誠). He was generally known as Frère Denis and hence his Chinese name of Tê-ni; as Attiret, his Chinese name was Wang Chih-ch'êng. It has frequently happened that missionaries have had more than one Chinese name. Vagnoni, 1566-1640, is mentioned in the *Ming History*, fol. 326, as Wang Fêng-su (王豐肅), but he was also known as Kao I-chih (高一志). In recent times there has also been a conspicuous example of a change of names. In his early years as a missionary Mgr. Favier was known as Fan Kuo-tung (樊國棟) but always in later years as Fan Kuo-liang (樊國樑). It is probable that Frère Denis was originally known in the Palace as Tê-ni and that, when as Attiret he needed a name in the ordinary form, he was surnamed Wang, a Prince, on account of being a favorite of the Emperor and given the name of Chih-ch'êng, most honest, as a tribute to his sterling character.

In the striking language of Père Amiot, Attiret was born "in the midst of brushes and palettes" at Dole, July 31, 1702. As a child his chief diversion was to daub colors on any paper he could get. He was sent to Rome to study and on his return made some paintings in Lyons which attracted attention to him. In 1735 he entered the Jesuit Order as a Brother. A request having come from China for a missionary painter, he volunteered and arrived in Peking August 5, 1738, where he was associated with Castiglione.

He found his new life very trying. He had been trained as a portrait painter but in the Palace he was asked to paint landscapes, battle scenes, flowers, animals, houses and internal decorations. He complains that he was expected to forget all that he had previously learned. The Emperor looked over his sketches, making changes or additions as he pleased. Whether these were good or bad Attiret could say nothing. Only his religious convictions caused him to continue in the work. He had his Sundays and Feast Days for religious exercises undisturbed by ordinary duties and this gave him courage to persevere. He believed that he could use his brush for

the good of his religion and as a help in making the Emperor favorable to the missionaries who preached it (*Lett. Edif.*, III, 793). Like Castiglione he was a very zealous missionary.

His work was chiefly in the decoration of the Summer Palace, Yüan Ming Yüan, and no traces of it survived the holocaust of 1860. Mention is made in *Kuo Ch'ao Yüan Hua Lu*, II, p. 15, of an Album of Paintings of Ten Horses by Wang Chih-ch'êng which this book says is recorded in *Shih Ch'ü Hsü Pien*. In this book it is recorded that the Album was stored in the Ning Shou Kung. The Album was therefore in the Palace during the latter part of the reign of Ch'ien Lung and the first years of Chia Ch'ing, but I have searched in vain for it in the present Palace collection nor have I found any record as to its having been presented by the Emperor to anyone. As far as is known at present the Album has disappeared but it may come to light in future years. It is the only specimen of his work which we are ever likely to see.

Attiret died in Peking, December 8, 1768, two years after the death of his brother artist Castiglione. Castiglione was buried at Sha La according to all accounts. It has been presumed that Attiret, a Frenchman, was buried in what is called the French Cemetery at Tcheng-Fou-Sse (Ch'eng Fu Ssü). A brief statement to this effect is made in a letter of Mgr. Guillemin who claims to have seen his tombstone in 1869 (See *Lettres de Mgr. Guillemin*, Rome, 1870, p. 108, quoted by Endore de Colomban in his *Mgr. Guillemin*, p. 284). An earlier account written by Fr. Guillon, August 20, 1863 (see an extract in *Etudes*, 1864, IV, pp. 17-32) says that the tombstone of Fr. Attiret was "broken and upset" (*cassée et renversée*); and from this I infer that he did not make a careful examination of it. I do not understand how it was possible for Guillemin to have been able six years later to secure a complete version of the Latin and Chinese texts. At any rate the version given by Guillemin is incorrect in three particulars: (a) it was MDCCLXVIII, 1768, and not MDCCLVIII, 1758, when Attiret died; (b) Attiret entered the Society in 1735, not in 1725 (misprinted as 1625) as quoted by Endore de Colomban; and (c) he came to China in 1738 and not 1728. I have found that Guillemin's version of the Chinese text on the reverse of the tombstone of Parennin (Parrenin) is also quite inaccurate. When the double

wall at the back of the stone was removed I was able to make a rubbing of the inscription. The translation is as follows:

The westerners Kegler, Pereyra and Chalier have in a memorial reported that the religious man Parennin has resided in Peking and been supported forty-three years. Now on the 20th day of the eighth moon of the 6th year of Ch'ien Lung he has succumbed to his illness at the age of seventy-eight years. By Imperial Grace an Edict has been issued as follows: "Parennin was a trustworthy man. He exerted himself on my behalf for many years. A special favor is bestowed on him by the gift of two hundred taels and ten rolls of silk." Respect this. The above Edict was received on the 24th day of the 8th moon of the sixth year of Ch'ien Lung and on the 27th day the gifts were sent from the Imperial Household.

These errors cause me to doubt whether or not Mgr. Guillemin ever made a careful investigation of either stone. Is it not possible or indeed probable that his information was supplied to him by some one else who examined the stone for him? This would not be surprising since the stone, according to Fr. Guillon, was "broken and upset" and therefore difficult to read. In the reading it would be easy to make the mistakes which I have pointed out. The broken state of this headstone would also account for the fact that no rubbing was taken of it by M. Devéria in 1875 when he made the set of rubbings of other stones in this cemetery which he presented to the Siccawei Library.

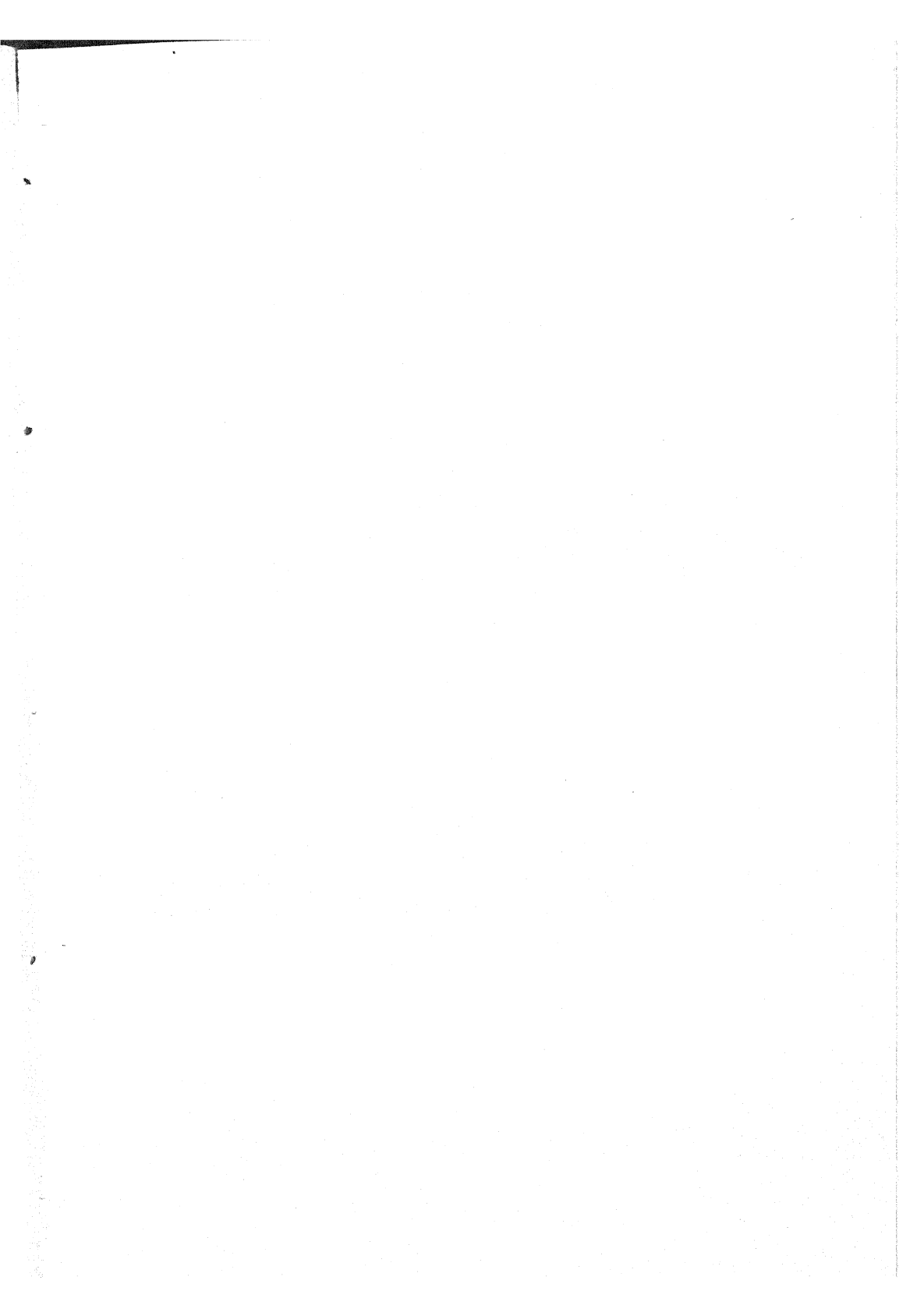
There is a further mystery about this stone. It is not mentioned by Cordier in his list of the Cimetière "français" given in col. 1035 of the *Bibliotheca Sinica*. Cordier explains in col. 1028 that he commenced to draw up this list but that it was completed by P. Provost, a missionary of whom he spoke very highly. Provost died September 28, 1897, and is buried in this cemetery. We know that this list was prepared previous to that date. In the plan of the cemetery as it was in 1896, published by Mgr. Favier in his book *Peking*, Attiret's tombstone is marked as number nineteen. Who was right, Cordier or Favier? Cordier's list omits the names of all Chinese and of Lazarists and there are no entries after that of Mgr. Mouly, who was buried in 1868.

Mouly visited the cemetery on his arrival in Peking in 1835. In the account of his visit, which is quoted in Planchet's *Le Cimetière de Tcheng-Fou-Sse*, p. 10, he

says that at that time there were forty-six graves of which only thirty-three had inscriptions both in Latin and in Chinese. This does not agree with Favier's list which gives only thirty-nine at that date. Mouly says that the graves of twenty-two Jesuit fathers lined the two sides of the path leading to the cross. He mentions the graves of Jean Damascene, the martyrs Deraut and Delpon, Bouvet and Gerbillon, Bourgeois and Amiot, Raux and Ghislain and also Hanna, an Irishman who was the first Lazarist to be buried in this cemetery. No mention is made of Attiret by name and a careful comparison of the numbers mentioned by Mouly and in the two lists offers no help. At present our earliest evidence that Attiret was buried in this cemetery is the statement of Fr. Guillon in 1863 concerning his broken and upset headstone. Is it possible that Cordier's list is correct and that Attiret was not buried here? He died on December 8 just as the sparks of persecution were being fanned to a flame. On November 12 twenty-two functionaries of the Observatory had been denounced for their acceptance of the proscribed religion. Under the existing circumstances it is possible that Attiret was buried quietly in some unknown spot.

The present stone cannot be adduced in evidence, for it was only erected in 1917, is badly carved and in the Latin inscription the lower part is not in sequence. The Chinese date is given as the eighth day of the eleventh month of the twenty-eighth year of Ch'ien Lung which is December 12, 1763, whereas the Latin text gives the date correctly as December 8, 1768. The Chinese text gives his age at death as sixty-one years where it should be sixty-six. By the kind permission of Père Léfaki I had the wall which now covers the back of this stone removed and found that there is no inscription on the reverse side.

The Chinese name of Attiret is given by Professor Pelliot in T'oung Pao, 1921, pp. 190-193, as Wang Chih-ch'êng. He cites a decree of Ch'ien Lung, July 13, 1765, concerning the sixteen engravings and identifies the name there given, Vanchichin, as identical with the Wang Chih-ch'êng mentioned in the *Kuo Ch'ao Yüan Hua Lu*. He also cites the evidence of Guillemmin's letter but I consider this to be of little, if any, assistance. Probably Professor Pelliot is correct in his inference, but until the Chinese text of Ch'ien Lung's edict is secured there can be no certainty.



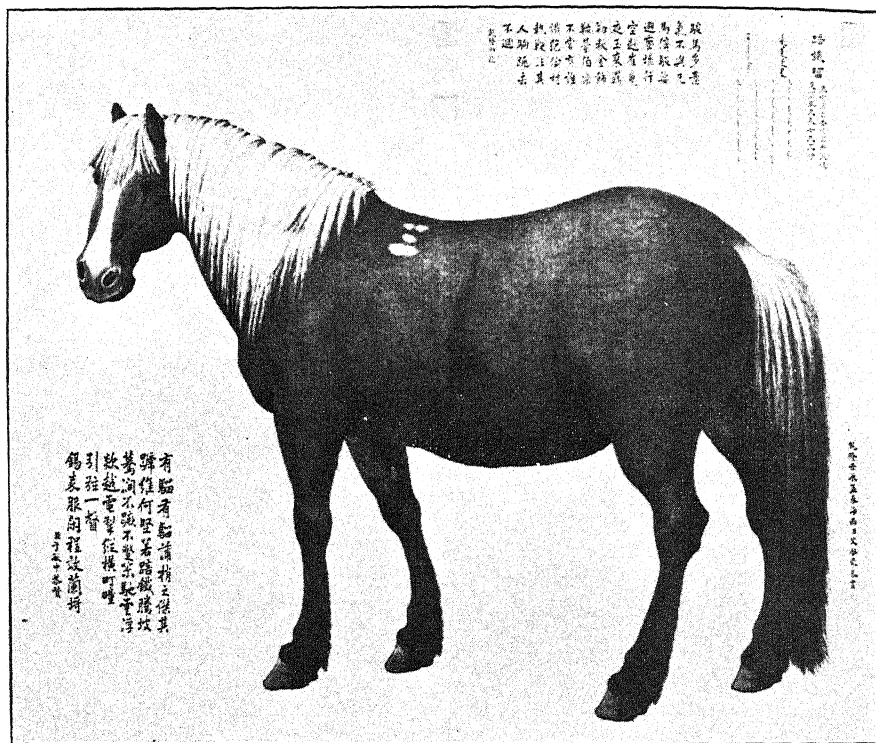


Illustration 4.

Painting of a horse called P'o T'ieh Liu, by Ignatius Sickelpart.

Denis Attiret was a man of rare talents. He was a popular favorite at Court even though he chafed under the restrictions imposed upon him by the Emperor. He was an ardent patriot and loved the companionship of his own countrymen. He had the artistic temperament and would have made a great name for himself as a portraitist if he had remained in Europe.

8. Benoist, Chiang Yu-jên (蔣友仁). His Christian name was Michel and he came to China in 1744, dying in 1774. I have included him as a painter on the strength of his letter from Peking in *Lettres Edifiantes* dated November 4, 1773. He was the constant companion of Castiglione, Attiret, Sickelpart and Panzi and was with the latter when he painted the portrait of the Emperor. If he did not himself use the brush he was the adviser and counsellor in their work of the four artists who were his contemporaries.

9. Sickelpart, Ai Ch'i-mêng (艾啟蒙). His Christian name was Ignatius. He came to China in 1745 and died in 1780. He was a native of Bohemia. In the Government Museum, Wu Ying Tien, there are eight large pictures of horses by Sickelpart [Illustration 4]. These are painted on silk about seven feet in length and eight feet in width. In the Old Palace Museum there is a large scroll painting of Ten Horses—*shih chün t'u*. Eight of the horses were painted by Castiglione and two by Sickelpart whose work closely resembles that of Castiglione. He also prepared Nos. 9, 10 and 11 of the designs for the sixteen engravings depicting the conquests of Ch'ien Lung.

10. Damascene, An T'ai (安泰), also An Jo-wang (安若望). (There is some uncertainty in my mind as to the Chinese name of Damascene which is given in the translation of the alleged imperial decree of July 13, 1765, as Nyantey. An T'ai is the Chinese name of Stephen Rousset, No. 58 in the Tcheng-Fou-Sse list where the Chinese name of Damascene, No. 110, is given as An Jo-wang.) An Italian with the surname of Sallutti, his Christian names were Jean Damascenus. He was consecrated Bishop of Peking in 1780 and died the following year. His name is mentioned along with those of Panzi and Poirot as having painted six pictures for the Emperor (*Lettr. Edif.*, p. 197). He also prepared the original sketches for Nos. 2, 6, 7, 11, 12 and 13 for the sixteen engravings of the Conquests of Ch'ien Lung.

11. Poirot, Louis de (賀清泰). He was a native of France. Cordier in col. 1073 quotes Brücker's statement that Poirot and Grammont were born at Lorraine in 1735. He is said by Pfister to have died in 1814 and by Brücker "before 1815." In a letter from Peking written by Benoist and dated November 4, 1773 (*Lettre. Edif.*, II, p. 197) he is mentioned as having painted six pictures in collaboration with Panzi and Damascene under instructions from the emperor. In Vol. II of *Notices Biographiques*, of which I have been courteously allowed to see an advance copy, the Chinese name of Poirot has been identified as Ho Ch'ing-t'ai. In an edict of the emperor Chia Ch'ing dated September 3, 1811, and recorded in the *Tung Hua Hsü Lu* (東華續錄), fol. 32, p. 1, the names of eight of the eleven missionaries then resident in the capital are given. Among these are the names of two men "who are old and constantly ailing so that they cannot return to their country." These are Ho Ch'ing-t'ai (賀清泰) and Chi Tê-ming (吉德明). Chi Tê-ming is identified as J. J. Ghislain. He is buried at Tcheng-Fou-Sse where his Chinese name is given on his headstone as Chi Jo-wang (冀若望), probably to conceal his identity on account of the rigorous persecution which was being enforced at the time of his death. The other old man referred to as Ho Ch'ing-t'ai presumably was Poirot, who was known as a painter of birds. Five paintings of his are recorded in *Kuo Ch'ao Yüan Hua Lu* (國朝院畫錄), three are of white hawks, one of a deer [Illustration 5] and one of a goshawk. I have seen one of the hawk paintings and consider it as good as a similar painting by Castiglione.

12. Panzi, P'an T'ing-chang (潘廷璋). He was an Italian born at Cremona, May 2, 1734. His Christian name being Joseph, he was also known in Chinese as P'an Jo-sê (潘若瑟). He came to China in 1771. His great work was a portrait of the Emperor Ch'ien Lung described in detail by Benoist in his letter of November 4, 1773, to which reference has already been made. He is said by Brücker to have died "before 1812." He was a talented artist.

Missionary Artists in Peking.

Ricci (?) (Niva)	1601-1610
Fiori	1694-1705
Gerardino	1698-(later than 1711)
Belleville	1698-?



Illustration 5.
A deer, by Louis de Poirat, dated A.D. 1790.



Ripa	1711-1723
Castiglione	1715-1766
Attiret	1738-1768
Benoist (?)	1744-1774
Sickelpart	1745-1780
Damascene	1765-1781
Poirot	1770-1814
Panzi	1771-1811

It will be seen from the foregoing that there was an unbroken succession of European painters attached to the Court of Peking from the time of Gerardino in 1698 and perhaps even from the arrival of Fiori in 1694 to the death of Poirot in 1814, a period of more than one hundred years. Of the twelve whose names I have given only one, Castiglione, has a place among the artists mentioned in the *Hua Shih Hui Chuan*. Attiret under the name of Wang Chih-ch'êng, Sickelpart under the name of Ai Ch'í-mêng, and Poirot under the name of Ho Ch'ing-t'ai are recorded in *Kuo Ch'ao Yüan Hua Lu*, but there is no mention of the paintings of any of the others in any Chinese record that I have seen. Recently the Government Museum has reproduced in collotype the horse paintings of Sickelpart. This failure to be noted in published records must be taken as an index of the influence of these men upon painting in China. It was wholly temporary and evanescent. This was largely due to the fact that European painting was considered by scholars as an expensive exotic luxury of the emperor. The painters were Court favorites and their influence did not extend beyond the walls of the Palace. Only the influence of Castiglione can be reckoned as a permanent contribution to the historic development of Chinese painting. He gave a new interpretation of the painting of animals and his style was followed by Chiao Ping-chên, Lêng Mei and their successors.

THE CYCLES OF CATHAY

By HERBERT CHATLEY, D.Sc. (Lond.)

The poet who wrote "Better fifty years of Europe than a cycle of Cathay" was probably unaware that the only well-known cycle in China was that of sixty years and presumably had in mind those far longer cycles in which some Chinese philosophers have thought, as did the carpenter in "Peter Simple," that all things would be renewed in almost identical manner.

Some modern mathematicians have suggested that the theory of probability compels, in the long course of time, some such repetition. There is for example a famous hypothesis concerning the time in which twelve monkeys playing with typewriters would produce an *Encyclopaedia Britannica*. Actually the probability of such a recurrence is so nearly zero that the time required for it transcends in an indefinitely large ratio the longest periods that astronomers have ever imagined and, in the view of most thinkers, owing to the multiplicity of conditions and in particular to the "quantum" condition, such an occurrence is literally not possible. There are however almost certainly periods in which certain cosmic events will recur on broadly similar lines.

Wild speculators have assumed that in the remote past a mechanical civilization such as the present one has previously occurred. There is no real ground for such a belief, but it is certainly true that in the pre-mechanical age nations and races ran through phases of success and decay which can be compared with one another. Biology also makes it clear that the life of the individual and of groups does have cyclic tendencies.

Plato says, "Everything generated is liable to corruption . . . and its dissolution is as follows. Not only as regards terrestrial plants but likewise terrestrial animals, a fertility and sterility both of body and soul take place when the revolution of the heavenly bodies complete the periphery of their respective orbits, which

are shorter to the shorter lived and contrariwise to the contrary" (*Republic*, Book VIII, Cap. 3).

In the course of the following notes an attempt has been made to bring together most of the relevant matter on the subject of cycles, with special reference to those alluded to in Chinese literature, but also including the older ones of other lands from which some at least of the Chinese have been borrowed.

The theory of cycles is of great antiquity and wide acceptance. It is based on a very plausible analogy somewhat as follows: Life is periodic with epochs of alternate development and decay and is obviously dependent on climate. Climate is similarly periodic, the alternations of day and night and those of the seasons during the year presenting analogous sets of phenomena. The waxing and waning of the moon and the annual displacement of any one particular lunar phase in the stellar vault are also comparable.¹ Human history consists of alternations of prosperity and retrogression and may presumably be compared in this respect to the annual change of the seasons. The sun obviously regulates the day and night and the full moon seems to control the seasons. The other five planets which wander among the stars have presumably an analogous relation to terrestrial phenomena and their periodic changes should correspond to the longer pulses of human life. Hence any cycle of celestial phenomena should correspond to some simultaneous cycle of mundane activity.

A famous passage from the reputedly Chou treatise 洪範 Hung Fan, which forms part of the Book of History, *Shu Ching*, says:

庶	民	惟	星
<i>Shu</i>	<i>min</i>	<i>wei</i>	<i>hsing</i>
All	people	consider	stars
星	有	好	風
<i>Hsing</i>	<i>yu</i>	<i>hao</i>	<i>feng</i>
Stars	(some)	favour	wind
星	有	好	雨
<i>Hsing</i>	<i>yu</i>	<i>hao</i>	<i>yü</i>
Stars	(some)	favour	rain
日	月	之	行
<i>Jih</i>	<i>yüeh</i>	<i>chih</i>	<i>hsing</i>
Sun (&)	moon	's	motion

¹ The position of the full moon amongst the stars is an indicator of the exactly opposite position of the sun and is therefore an indicator of the seasons.

則	有	冬	有	夏
Tsé	yu	tung	yu	hsia
Then	have	winter	have	summer
月	之	從	星	
Yüeh	chih	ts'ung	hsing	
Moon	's	following	stars	
則	以	風	雨	
Tsé	i	fêng	yü	
Then	produce	wind	rain	

The duration of human lives and the times occupied by historic events are usually greater than the month or the year and the sage who sought to derive a foreknowledge of events had to find longer cycles in the heavens.

As the principal "wing" or "Confucian" commentary on the Book of Changes, *I Ching*, says:

仰	以	觀	于	天	文
Yang	i	kuan	yü	t'ien	wên
Look up	use	observe	in	Heaven's	lore
俯	以	察	于	地	理
Fu	i	ch'a	yü	ti	li
Look down	use	examine	in	Earth's	order
是	故	知	幽	明	之
Shih	ku	chih	yu	ming	chih
Then	know	dark (&)	light	's	ku
原	始	反	終	故	reason
Yüan	shih	yu	chung	ku	
Origin		and	end	cause	

The legendary Fu Hsi is stated to be the originator of this method. Babylonians, Egyptians, Indians and Greeks all thought similarly. Plato (*Republic*, VIII, Cap. 3) and Plotinus (*Enneads*, IV, iii) both speak of the correlation of earthly lives to the revolutions of the heavenly bodies.

The only definite cycles longer than one year which are referred to in the older Chinese documents are the 60 year cycle and the period of more than 500 years mentioned by Mencius as that in which a sage appeared. The 60 year cycle is traditionally reputed to go back to Huang Ti, the first 甲子 *Chia-tzu* period corresponding to 2637 B.C. and the last to A.D. 1924. As a matter of fact this system was probably not used in reference to *years* until the Chou or even the Han dynasty, first appearing in the writings of Ssü-ma Ch'ien. He refers to a twelve year Jovian period and there are other references to this in the Han histories. For days the *Chia-tzu* goes back at least to the Shang dynasty² as it occurs on the bones

² The use of it for years in the Bamboo Books in the Shang sections is considered to be an interpolation.

and it was preceded by a ten day *tsu* Hsin period, similar to that used by the ancient Egyptians. There can be little doubt that its main *raison d'être* is that 60 is the least common multiple of 10 and 12 and at the same time 5 times 12 and the number of days in two lunar months (nearly) and one sixth of the number of days in a year (nearly). Because in years it roughly represents the average life it has become of great significance.

A 60 year cycle termed a *Soss* was used in Seleucid times by the Babylonians, who also had the twelve-fold division of the day used by the Chinese. While it is probable that the *Chia-tzu* or cycle of 60 years in China is merely an extension of the older system of a 60 day cycle,³ there is actually a fairly good planetary period of 60 years, and according to some (e.g., T. Fergusson), it was borrowed from India in Han times.

60 tropical years equal	5.13 sidereal revs. of Jupiter
" " "	" 54.93 synodical per. do.
" " "	" 31.91 sidereal revs. of Mars
" " "	" 28.11 synodical per. do.
" " "	" 2.04 ⁴ sidereal revs. of Saturn
" " "	" 57.97 synodical per. do.

The odd fractions differ so little from zero or unity that roughly we may say:

60 years equal	5 revolutions of Jupiter amongst the stars.
" " "	55 oppositions of Jupiter to the sun.
" " "	32 revolutions of Mars.
" " "	28 oppositions of Mars (4 perihelion oppositions).
" " "	2 revolutions of Saturn.
" " "	58 oppositions of Saturn.
" " "	(also 249 revolutions of Mercury).

Consequently there will be a conjunction of the three planets in almost the same region of the sky every 60 years. Thus in May, 1821, all three were within five degrees in the zodiacal sign of Aries, and again in July, 1881 they were all within eleven degrees in the adjacent zodiacal sign of Taurus.

³ Later it was extended to moons and double-hours and is in this form the basis of the "eight character" system of divination.

⁴ 60 tropical years equals 249.12 sidereal revs. of Mercury (Error of 11 days).

60 vague years (365 days) = 248.95 sidereal revs. of Mercury (Error of 4 days).

60 tropical years equals 97.485 sidereal revs. of Venus (error of 4 days). Inferior conjunction changes to Superior.

The actual mean period of the conjunction of Jupiter and Saturn in the *same region* of the sky is 59.578 years, in which Jupiter makes 5.0225 sidereal revolutions and Saturn 2.0225 similar revolutions. The coincidence with Mars is not very good but the other two planets move so slowly and Mars so quickly that there will generally be a close approach of the latter before Jupiter and Saturn have separated widely. Actually there is a very good agreement of the three after three cycles (178.74 years). This conjunction of Jupiter and Saturn in the same region of the sky is almost certainly the origin of the 60 year cycle in India⁵ and would be maintained in the memory by the 20 year conjunctions occurring at points which are on the average 117 degrees apart. The actual epoch is a little irregular owing to the displacements caused by the earth's motion round the sun. Such planetary periods can never be exact unless they relate to oppositions or conjunctions, owing to the occurrence of retrograde loops in the planets' paths, caused by the earth's motion.

The heliocentric conjunction (*i.e.*, as seen from the Sun) of Jupiter and Saturn occurs every 19.859 years, which is near enough to 20 for geocentric purposes. Owing to the retrograde motion of one or both planets there may be a second geocentric conjunction very soon after the first. Thus there were two conjunctions in January and August, 1802, June and December, 1821, February and September, 1842, and November 1861 and April 1862; but only one in April 1881, November 1901, and September 1921. This 20 year phenomenon is sufficiently noticeable to have been regarded as an important cycle but does not seem actually to have been so, possibly on account of the bias for multiples of 6 in cycles. Conjunctions of Mars with Jupiter and Saturn (separately) occur on the average every two years, but so irregularly that this period has not been regarded as a cycle.

The Metonic cycle of 19 years is a very definite and well known one, being the period of the return of the moon to the same phase on the same day of the year but is rather "calendric" than "climatic." There is a similar but less exact period of 8 years.

The Seleucid Babylonian "great years"⁶ of the planets are

⁵ See BAILLY: *Traité de l'Astronomie Indienne et Orientale*.

⁶ A simpler and earlier series is 10, 8, 15, 12 and 30 of which the L.C.M. is 120 years, or two *Sosses*.

46	years	for	Mercury
8	"	"	Venus
79	"	"	Mars
83	"	"	Jupiter
59	"	"	Saturn

These are the periods in which almost identical "aspects" (e.g., oppositions, conjunctions or elongations) with respect to the Sun occur in the same part of the sky so that simultaneous conjunctions with chosen stars occur at these intervals. The last one is of course practically the same as the 60 year period since Saturn does not move much among the stars in one year and repeats its solar aspects every 1.035 years.

Ssü-ma Ch'ien (*Shih Chi*, Book 27, "T'ien Kuan Shu"; Chavannes' translation, Vol. III) and later the Sung writers made a great deal of planetary conjunctions, especially of all five planets together. The Bamboo Books mention a conjunction of the five planets in the lunar mansions "Fang" (part of the constellation Scorpio) which is said to have occurred in the region of Chou Hsin, the last Shang ruler. The date is doubtful. Ssü-ma Ch'ien speaks of one in the reign of Han Kao Tsu (204 B.C.). It was considered that this quintuple conjunction indicated a revolution and an access of the Imperial power to the kingdom which astrologically corresponded to the "mansion" in which it occurred and implied the appearance on earth of a great man. It is possible that Mencius had the same idea in mind.

The *T'ung Chien Kang Mu* refers to a Han dynasty traditional conjunction of this kind in *Shih* (part of the constellation Pegasus) in the reign of Chuan Hsü, one of the legendary early monarchs. The date may be 2449 B.C. but no reliance can be placed on it. An approximate conjunction of the five planets occurred in A.D. 967, in the eighth year of the founder of the Sung dynasty, in the "mansion" *K'uei* (part of the constellation Andromeda), and there was another notable conjunction in 1186, in the lifetime of the great Confucian scholar Chu Hsi.⁷ In view of the Chinese hypotheses as to the constitution of all things by the five elements and the mystical correlation of the five planets to the five elements, the conjunction of the five planets indicates the reversion of the elements to the "two principles" and a reconstitution of the Empire (necessarily under the guidance of a sage).

⁷ These two are 219 years apart. 11 conjunctions of Jupiter and Saturn at 19.86 years equal 218.46 years.

A conjunction of the five planets is not necessarily a very striking phenomenon because, as it includes Mercury, it must occur near the Sun. It will occur in the twilight of dawn or dusk and Saturn and Mars will be faint. A conjunction excluding Mercury may form a striking group if it occurs when Venus is well away from the Sun, but Saturn and Mars will still be rather faint and undoubtedly the most spectacular effect is a triple conjunction of Jupiter, Saturn and Mars opposite the Sun. In February 1524 a triple conjunction in the sign of Pisces (constellation Aquarius) was in Europe supposed to forecast a deluge. It is interesting to note that the planetary conjunction which some theologians have associated with the "Star of Bethlehem" occurred in the same constellation (Pisces) in 6 B.C. as the one which happened in A.D. 967. A multiple conjunction occurred in 1861 and was associated by Tsêng Kuo-fan with the events of the T'ai-p'ing rebellion.

The system of associating the signs or stars of the zodiac with places upon earth was common to Greek and Chinese astrology (of course with entirely different allocations in the two countries). The Greeks for example associated the sign Pisces with Judea and this notion probably explains the new Testament reference to the star being "over" Bethlehem. The practical impossibility of a star being observably "over" a terrestrial locality is usually neglected by biblical students. The Greek allocations are given in Ptolemy's *Tetrabiblos* (A.D. 2nd cent.) and the Chinese ones in Ssü-ma Ch'ien's *Shih Chi* ("T'ien Kuan Shu") written in the first century B.C.

The Mencian period of "over 500 years" (*Mêng-tzû*, Book VII, Part II, Cap. 38) is that between Yao and Shun and T'ang of the Shang dynasty, T'ang and Wên Wang (Chou dynasty), and Wên Wang and Confucius. According to the traditional dates this period (the recurrence of a sage) is more nearly 600 years than 500, but the older dates are very uncertain. There is a very good triple conjunction period of 516.33 years for Jupiter, Saturn and Mars, which may have been associated with this period. The Babylonians attached great importance to the period of 600 years, which was called *Ner* or *Nar*. It was probably just the multiple of the 60 year Soss period by ten, but Cassini calls attention to the fact that it also happens to be quite a solar-lunar period like the well known 19 year period, but less exact. Josephus in the *Antiquities of the Jews* refers to the 600 year period

as "The term of the revolution of the great year." Brooks and Huntington⁸ believe they have discovered a 640 year period, half drought and half humid, which explains the migration of the Aryans, Celts, Huns, etc.

The ancients made great efforts to ascertain the length of the celestial cycle in which they supposed all the heavenly motions would be repeated. In actual fact, even confining attention to the motions of the sun, moon and five planets with respect to the fixed stars, no such period can exist as the periodic times are incommensurate. Approximate conjunctions of all seven with a star do occur but not at regular intervals. The Greek name for this imaginary cycle was *exeligmos*. In Latin it was generally called *Annus Magnus* or *Maximus* or *Mundanus* or "Great Year," and it was confused with the precession period (nearly 26,000 years) in which the tropic point, where the equator cuts the ecliptic, makes one revolution amongst the stars, due to the earth's gyroscopic motion.⁹ As mentioned above, Josephus speaks of this "great year" as being 600 years. Censorinus (2nd cent. A.D.) quotes various philosophers as giving periods from 2,484 years to 360,000 years, and also mentions the opinion that no such postulated recurrence does occur. The Zoroastrians developed a 12,000 year cycle of the same kind, and Judaic Christianity has a vague theory of a 7,000 year cycle.

The Indian philosophers adopted this idea and it appears in the laws of Manu, which in their present form date to about the beginning of the Christian era. Their period was 4,320,000 years (*Chaturyuga*). One tenth of this was the *Kaliyuga* or present age, which may originate from the period given by Berossos of Cos (2nd cent. B.C.) as that of the duration of the ten antediluvian Babylonian Kings (432,000 years). This same period appears in the twelfth century *T'ung Chien Kang Mu*, and is probably an importation from India to China. Berossos also indicates the larger period when he makes the time from creation to Alexander the Great nearly 2,160,000 years, which is half the Hindu figure given. Oppert and Lenormant have devoted much study to bring these figures in relation with the Biblical traditions not

⁸ See CURRY: "Climate and Migration," in the 1929 *Smithsonian Annual Report*.

⁹ The revolution was divided into two halves; when the grand conjunction was in Aquarius an universal deluge occurred, when in Leo, drought and fire prevailed. From the latter are deduced the date of the millenium.

entirely without success. Lenormant considers Berossos' Great Year to have been 518,400 years or 144 *saroi*.

In the early days of Christianity great efforts were made to reconcile the Babylonian traditions with the Hebrew oracles of Genesis as to "creation" and the antediluvian period. The Babylonian records then available must however have been much worked over in Seleucid times and we now know that the creation story has a parallel in Babylonian legend which is probably much older than any cyclic speculations of the Babylonian astronomers. Furthermore the date of the Hebrew text of Genesis is almost certainly earlier than say 700 B.C. and there is good reason to suppose that most of the more systematic astronomy of the Babylonians is later than this. Nevertheless it is quite possible that the Babylonian astrologers of say 1000 B.C. may have computed the lengths of prehistoric times and of "creation" although we have no means of knowing how far these speculations may have been modified by the time of Berossos (2nd cent. B.C.). The simplicity of the Berossian cycles is perhaps an argument for their antiquity.

The later Indian application of this system affords an excellent illustration of how this might have *first* been done. From cycles of planetary conjunctions computed from the records extending over some 2,000 years (collected primarily for augural purposes) the Babylonians may have deduced (probably incorrectly, owing to the approximate character of their observations) that a certain important heavenly configuration occurred at the time of the great flood in Mesopotamia which had been, in the eyes of the Babylonians, a world cataclysm. This would have formed a datum epoch; and the arbitrary application of longer cycles (lengths computed by the use of factors 7, 10, 12, 30 and 60, which appeared to be of first class astrological importance) were supposed to trace back appropriate planetary configurations for the earlier epochs. This method provided a set of imaginary dates for the seven stages of "creation" and the ten stages of the antediluvian period. The Hebrew oracles adopted these in a simple form free of polytheistic myth, and presumably the writers had some conventional meaning for the "days" of creation and for the prolonged life periods of the patriarchs. The idea that the men of former cycles had longer lives occurs in Babylonian and Hindu legend. The Psalmist's reference to a day as being equivalent to a thousand years in the sight of God has

its parallel in the Berossian equivalent of 24,000 years to the seventh part of the creation time and in the Hindu statement that 4,320,000,000 years is a day of Brahma. The same methods enable the end of the world to be computed and probably underlie the millennial references of Ezekiel and Daniel. To this day such calculations form a source of interest to many and were not despised by Sir Isaac Newton.

As already mentioned the Babylonians (according to Abydenus, as quoted by Eusebius) reckoned largely by *sosses* of 60 years and *ners* of 600 years. They also used *sars* of 3,600 years. There are good reasons for thinking that the *soss*, *ner* and *sar* were originally merely the numbers 60, 600 and 3,600. Thus in one of the cuneiform tablets quoted by Sayce in his great paper on the Astronomy of the Babylonians a year is said to consist of six *sosses* of days. Incidentally this shows that the Babylonian year was reckoned as exactly 360 days, whence comes our division of the circle into 360 degrees. According to this principle:

A <i>soss</i> of "double hours"	is five days
" " days	" two Babylonian months
" " months	" five Babylonian years
A <i>ner</i> of "double hours"	" 50 days
" " days	" 20 months
" " months	" 50 years
A <i>sar</i> of "double hours"	" 300 days
" " days	" 10 years
" " months	" 300 years

On account of the defect of the Babylonian year from the true tropic year of 365.2422 days, intercalary months were used; in some cases as many as three in one year. This intercalation has nothing to do with the moon, whose phases might occur on any day of the Babylonian month of 30 days. Evidently the cult of round numbers was considered preferable to retention of the lunar month of 29.5306 days. Similarly the ancient Egyptians added 5 epagomenal days at the end of each year of 12 thirty-day months and allowed a "Sothic" cycle of 1,460 years on account of the $\frac{1}{4}$ day error; this indicates two stages of correction.

A *sar* is also the name applied to the eclipse period of 18 years and 11 days (223 moons or 6,585 days), in which eclipses recur. This period seems to bear no relation whatever to the number 3,600, and was discovered

late in Babylonian history.¹⁰ According to Berossos, as quoted by Pliny, the exact observations of the Babylonian astronomers went back to a date corresponding to 2243 B.C. This agrees with the records of the cuneiform tablets, some of which profess to be copies of originals of Sargon I's time (nearly 2700 B.C. according to the more conservative recent chronology).

The use of the *soss* as a number is well illustrated by the Chinese practice with the *Chia-tzũ*:

One *Chia-tzũ* of double hours is 5 days.

" " " days is 2 moons (plus about one day).

" " " moons is five years (the two intercalated moons bear the same cyclic name as their predecessors).

The later (T'ang) Chinese astronomers in addition to the seven planets noted the motions of four celestial points which they likened to planets. These were almost certainly borrowed from India and two still bear Chinese transliterations of the Indian names *Rahu* and *Kethu*. They are actually the moon's nodes, i.e., the two points on the sun's path (the ecliptic) at which the moon's path cuts it. They are termed by mediæval astronomers the dragon's head and tail. Eclipses of the sun or moon occur when a new or full moon happens to coincide with these points (which themselves revolve backwards once in 18.6 years) and hence the eclipse period of 18 years and 11 days referred to above.

The third of the four is the moon's perigee (or apogee) or point of nearest (or farthest) approach to the earth, at which she moves fastest (or slowest). This revolves once in 8.85 years. The fourth is a purely imaginary point which makes a revolution in 28 years and corresponds to the so-called solar cycle of Julian years (365¼ days) in which the seven planetary days of the week recur on the same days of the year.¹¹ The very existence of this in China, where it has practically no meaning, is clear evidence of foreign introduction, which is in fact on record.

Disregarding very well known periods such as the day, moon and year, the following cycles are frequently referred to in Chinese literature.¹²

¹⁰ The use of the word *sar* here is probably an error made by Suidas in an attempt to correlate Berossos with Genesis.

¹¹ Since the use of the Gregorian calendar, a backward correction of 3 days in 400 years is required to this cycle.

¹² See "Mélanges sur la Chronologie Chinoise," *Var. Sin.* No. 52, 1920; *MAYER'S Chinese Reader's Manual*, etc.

Ten days (旬 *Hsün*). Used for numeration in the early parts of the *Shu Ching*, and for mourning ritual (alternate days) in the *I Li*. Classified by the ten stems, this may have been the origin of the second name of each of the Shang kings.

Sixty days. The original *Chia-tzũ* of Shang times. See above.

(*Five years*. Except as a *chia-tzũ* of months, the author has no record of this period but it appears to be an important period or *Yuga* in early Indian chronology and any traces in China would be of great interest. It is a rough soli-lunar period).

Twelve years (紀 *Chi*, 終 *Chung* or 太歲 *T'ai Sui*). This is about the mean sidereal period of Jupiter (11.86 years) after which that planet becomes again conjoined with the same star. In Han times that seems to have been regarded as exactly twelve years. In India it became known that one twelfth of the Jovian revolution was less than one year and this shorter period (about 0.99 year) was regarded as a special unit. The period survives in China as the 12 year "animal" cycle.

Nineteen years (章 *Chang*). This is the Metonic period or "Golden Number," in which the moon's phases recur on the same solar dates.

Twenty-eight years (絜 *Ch'i*), the Sabbatical year of Sosigenes. Also inaccurately considered by the Han astronomers to be the sidereal period of Saturn, which is actually 29.46 years.

Thirty years (世 *Shih*, a generation). Half a *chia-tzũ*. A moon of years. Approximately the sidereal period of Saturn.

Sixty years (甲子 *Chia-tzũ*). See above. Equal to Five *Chi*'s.

Seventy-six years (蔀 *Pu*). The lunar cycle of Callippus, equal to four Metonic cycles of 19 years and giving an integral number of Julian years. Used in lunar intercalations, of which there will be 28 in the period.

513 years (會 <i>Hui</i>)	equals 27 times 19.
1,520 years (紀 <i>Chi</i>)	„ 20 times 76.
1,539 years (統 <i>T'ung</i>)	„ 3 <i>Hui</i> 's.
4,560 years (元 <i>Yüan</i>)	„ 3 times 1520.
4,617 years (do.)	„ 3 times 1539.
31,920 years (極 <i>Chi</i>)	„ 19 × 60 × 28

(1,549 years is rather a good case of recurrence of multiple planetary conjunction).

None of these, except those of 12, 19, 60 and 76 years, appear to have a very real astronomical meaning. Almost certainly they are based on simple calculation using numbers mystically. It is as a matter of fact extremely difficult to determine long astronomical periods with great accuracy, even nowadays when instruments of high precision are available. As to the larger periods, the best data are in the writings and compilations of the Sung dynasty philosophers. Chu Hsi speaks of a *Yüan* 元 or *Kalpa* of 129,600 years (equals 36 Babylonian *sars*), divided into 12 *Hui* of 10,800 years. This smaller figure is also that adopted by Heracleitos, a Greek philosopher of the 6th century B.C. In the course of this period all nature is supposed to be renewed. This figure appears to be an arbitrary multiplication of 360 by 30, or in other words a moon of great days of which each is a year, twelve such making a "great year." The word 元 *Yüan* means a "round" or cycle and is used, as above, by other writers for shorter periods.

The idea is identical with that of the Indians and Chaldeans. Some speak of longer periods. Thus in Ssü-ma Chêng's Annals of the Three Kings, prefixed to Ssü-ma Ch'ien's *Shih Chi* but written nearly 800 years later, a period of 3,276,000 years prior to Confucius is mentioned, divided into ten parts.¹³ The *T'ung Chien Kang Mu*, edited by Chu Hsi, speaks of a period of 432,000 years, divided into 24 parts, and still another system includes three sub-cycles embracing the period of 24,192,000 years.

These periods remind one immediately of those of Berossos and also of those which appear in the Laws of Manu and the Puranas, dating back to about the beginning of the Christian era and later in the *Sûrya Siddhânta* (A.D. 1000). There (in the Indian books) the period of 4,320,000 years and its multiples and sub-multiples occurs with great precision of statement, and it has been adopted *holus-bolus* by the Blavatski-ites, plus an assumed rotation of the earth's axis once in five times 432,000 years.¹⁴ All these figures bear within themselves evidence

¹³ Another account gives 2,760,000 years = $12 \times 230,000$ or $10 \times 12 \times 23,000$ and the *T'ung Chien Kang Mu* gives 2,267,000 years.

¹⁴ It is of interest to note that Grabau and Davidson Black of Peiping are inclined to rely on a polar shift of this order to explain climatic changes in the northern hemisphere. The earlier Siddhantas have *yugas* of 5, 2,850 and 180,000 years.

of their arbitrary origin. Thus 432,000 is twice 360 times 600, or 30 times 24 times 50 times 12, etc.

The idea with both the Babylonians and the Indians seems to have been that if by calculating back it could be found when all the mobile celestial bodies were exactly conjoined, this must have been the moment of "creation." In Greece, India, and perhaps also in Babylonia, this idea was extended forwards in time so as to foretell the end (and "re-creation") of the world. Progressive study of the astronomical data seems to have shown them that the first calculated coincidences were only approximate and so that times became increasingly long, the earlier ones becoming sub-cycles in the newer ones. They failed to realise that their data did not possess sufficient accuracy to permit of such calculations being made. To this day the Hindu astronomers assume an *integral* number of revolutions of the planets in the "Great Age" of 4,320,000 years.

An interesting analogy to this process is the unsuccessful attempt that was made some years ago in Europe to prove that the asteroids had resulted from the explosion of an infrajovian planet. Dynamically, if such had actually been the case, all the asteroidal orbits should intersect at the original point of explosion and, subject to allowances for perturbation, the periodic times and epochs should allow the date to be computed.

The Indians in actual fact computed the date of the beginning of the last sub-cycle (the *Kaliyuga* of 432,000 years) as 3102 B.C. This calculation was probably made in the early centuries of the Christian era. It was adopted by Arab astronomers as the date of the deluge. Preceding the *Kaliyuga* was the *Dvaparayuga* of 864,000 years; preceding that the *Tretayuga* of 1,296,000 years and preceding that the *Kritayuga* of 1,728,000 years. Before that back to the beginning of the current Aeon of 4,320,000,000 years was a period of 1,970,784,000 years.¹⁵ Again before that was half of Brahma's lifetime, amounting to 155,520,000,000 years. All these figures are obtained by simple multiplication by 100, 360, 1000, 12,000, 2,3,4 and (for one sub-cycle) 28. Buddhism has a *mahā-Kalpa* of 1,344,000,000 years sub-divided into 80 small *Kalpās* but some speculators greatly expand these figures. It is rather curious, but futile, to note that the larger figures do not differ very greatly from

¹⁵ Comparable figures were used by I-Hang in the eighth century.

those which Jeans and Eddington have indicated for the duration of the universe.

The Babylonians seem to have an epoch of reference about 2300 B.C., preceding which is a period of about 36,000 years (Lenormant gives 39,180 years);¹⁶ preceding this is the period of the ten antediluvian kings amounting to 432,000 years, and before this the period of "creation" amounting to 1,680,000 years. The last may refer to the tradition of a seven day and night period, making one day and night equivalent to 240,000 years or one double-hour equal to 20,000 years. The records are so fragmentary that no very definite conclusions can be drawn, but it is clear that such vast periods were imagined by the Babylonians and that India and China could well have obtained them from Babylon.

In regard to the shorter cycles something more should be said concerning the twelve year cycle. Censorinus referring to this cycle among the Chaldeans says "Subsequently to its renewal, atmospheric changes, abundant harvests, famines and sicknesses recurred in the same order." In Babylonia, India and China it is always associated with the sidereal period of Jupiter, but many moderns have suggested that it really refers to the sun-spot period which averages 11.2 years but may vary from 7 to 15 years. Incidentally it should be remarked that although Jupiter is the most massive of the planets there is no reason to think that the periodic time of sun-spots is related to the sidereal time of Jupiter. The eccentricity of Jupiter's orbit is very small and as the sun revolves on its axis in about 25 days, the tidal effects, if any, of Jupiter on the sun would not have a period resembling Jupiter's sidereal period. Furthermore the computed tidal effect of Jupiter on the sun is much smaller than that of the sun on the earth, so that the sun's own fluctuations of energy would be overwhelmingly greater than any effect of Jupiter. There is an actual but small climatic effect on the earth with the sun-spot period, and the triple sun-spot period (33.5 years) is also a probable climatic cycle. Analyses of sun-spot and solar radiation observations made by the Smithsonian Institution have shown radiation and climatic periods of 68 months, 45 months, 25 months, 11 months and 8 months, all being simple fractions of the sun-spot period.

¹⁶ Egyptians had a similar predynastic period of more than 20,000 years.

Studies made of the annular rings of old trees have shown similar periods of sub-multiples and multiples of the sun-spot period.¹⁷

Humanity is not ordinarily interested in periods exceeding a normal lifetime. This serves to explain the particular interest attached by philosophers to the planetary sidereal periods, the "great years" of the planets and the 60 year cycle. The Babylonian *ner* of 600 years covers the period within which the historic records of any people are of fairly immediate political or social interest; and if such a period were really applicable it would indicate the pulse of history. Spengler in his *Decline of the West* has indicated a cycle of one or two thousand years for the life of a nation, but his arguments are rather forced.

The whole of recorded history, including those very early times of which nothing but vague fragments remain, is much less than 10,000 years, and the periods of this order are the highest which can be of much real value. Modern astronomy knows of one such period, namely the tropical rotation of the earth's perihelion, amounting to 21,000 years. In half this time there is a change of the epoch of the nearest approach of the earth to the sun in the northern hemisphere from winter to summer (the reverse in the southern hemisphere), and this probably causes a small climatic change. Much larger changes occur owing to the alteration in the eccentricity of the earth's orbit due to the perturbations of Venus (*plus* smaller effects of the other planets). The maximum eccentricity last occurred about 850,000 years ago and some students have associated this with the glacial periods. Baron de Geer's computations as to the last glacial period (Wuerm) in Northern Europe, based on the number of annual layers of mud, indicate however that this occurred about 20,000 years ago when the eccentricity was still small and the perihelion occurred (as now) in winter, so that solar changes are more probably the really effective factors. Their cycles, if any, for long periods are unknown.

Astronomy knows of many longer cycles. The 26,000 year period of the precession of the equinoxes, which the ancients thought of great importance, cannot

¹⁷ See Smithsonian Annual Reports, 1930 and 1931. Jevons and others have suggested that "trade cycles" can be related to the Sun spot period, but the correlation is very doubtful.

actually have any climatic effect, except in so far as it controls the perihelion-equinox cycle just mentioned. Some kind of long cycle is required to regularise the rise and fall of the earth's surface, which geological studies indicate.

The Sung philosophers (Shao Kang Chieh, Chu Hsi, etc.) were much intrigued by the idea of a world cycle, as already mentioned, and subdivided the period of 129,600 years, which they favoured, into twelve parts. They supposed that in the first three of these Heaven, Earth and Man respectively appeared and in the last all things return again to chaos. The four quarters of such a cycle were described by them by the first four characters of the main text of the old *I Ching* (Book of Changes), which read as follows:—

☰	乾	元	亨	利	貞
	Chien	Yüan	Hêng	Li	Chên

Legge translates this: "Chien (represents) what is great and originating, penetrating, advantageous, correct and firm."

Of the actual four characters the regular meanings are

Yüan 元 First or original.

Hêng 亨 Pervading, successful.

Li 利 Advantage (etymologically "harvest").

Chên 貞 Chaste or lucky.

The writer ventures to suggest that the real meaning is much simpler, and that it should be translated "*The origin being successful, the harvest will be lucky.*" However this may be, if a cycle be represented as a circle or in modern form as a sine curve with a crest and a trough, the first quarter is described as Yüan 元, the second as Hêng 亨 "success," the third as Li 利 "reaping" and the fourth Chên 貞 "fortune." The analogy with the four quarters of the year is also used. In political history "Spring and Autumn" means rise and fall. Similar methods of dealing with all cycles are used.

The annual cycle is divisible into 12, 24 or 28 equal parts and by analogy all cycles may be similarly divided. The twelve parts (termed Chên 辰 or "syzygy") correspond roughly to the displacement of the new moon or full moon amongst the stars during each lunation (actually 365.24 divided by 29.54 equals 12.4). The celestial equator, considered as fixed in the heavenly vault, is also divided into 12 similar parts and the position of the sun

in them during the day gives the twelve "double-hours" of the day. Hence there are two sets of 12 divisions in reverse order, one fixed and one moving. The 12 parts also were used in Han times for a duodecimal subdivision of a Jovian cycle of 12 years, each part corresponding to the annual displacement of Jupiter among the stars.¹⁸

The twelve subdivisions were describable by the 12 "branches" 子丑寅 etc. (which can also be used for all duodecimal systems) but in Han times they also had special names (*Shih-T'ü Ko*, etc.) which *may* be of Hindu origin. Here again a double system with a reverse order occurs, the years being named forward and the signs of the zodiac backwards (Hsü 戌 corresponds to Aries, Yu 酉 to Taurus, etc., Tzû 子 for Aquarius). The 24 system is especially used for the *Ch'i Chieh* or climatic periods of 15 or 16 days which were presumably considered in primitive times to be half months (14.765 days), so that the weather "followed the stars," i.e., depending on with what stars the new or full moon conjoined. Since this conjunction really is an indicator of the position of the sun (opposite at full moon) in the ecliptic, the weather does follow the *full* moon's position among the stars. The 28 system is based on the daily motion of the moon amongst the stars (actually 1/27.3 of a revolution per day), but each division was also once regarded as indicating the annual displacement of Saturn amongst the stars (actually 1/29.46 of a revolution).

Thus we recur ever to the same idea, that there is a cycle in the affairs of things, which may be compared with the climatic year and may be analogously divided. The formerly "official" text book of divination 校正協紀辨方書 *Chiao Chêng Hsieh Chi Pien Fang Shu* dating to the 6th year of the *Ch'ien Lung* era, but republished as recently as the second year of the Republic, deals *ad nauseam* with the Chinese system of cycles, starting with the "River Chart," "The Inscription of the Lo (River)" the *Pa Kua*, the correlation of these with the stems and branches, the twenty-eight lunar mansions and the five elements. All is arbitrary and, apart from the soli-lunar data derived from almanacs, practically everything depends on the use of the *Lo-pan* or diviner's compass.

¹⁸ Actually 1/11.86 which is more than 1/12. This discrepancy, in India, led to the invention of an imaginary Jovian year which was actually one-twelfth of 11.86 years, i.e., 0.99 tropical years.

NOTE.

The latter part of the *Chou Pi Suan Ching* (周髀算經) or "Treatise on the Gnomon," dating possibly to the T'ang dynasty, speaks of an "Exeligmos," or period in which all things are renewed, of 31,920 years, called *Chi* 極. This is the product of $19 \times 60 \times 28$ implying an exact repetition of the solar-lunar conjunctions, the sixty-year cycle and the 28 cycle of the lunar constellations. Actually there is no such period, as the 19-year cycle has a small error and the 28 cycle is a mere rough approximation. The *Chou Pi* is very interesting and involves a radius for the Earth of about 250,000 *li*, the vault of heaven being 80,000 *li* above the surface of the Earth. There are some very gross geometrical errors in it and its main features probably date back to the Han period.

BAMBOO AND BAMBOO PAINTING

By TENG KUEI, M.F.A., F.R.S.A.

The history of bamboo in China dates as far back as that of the Chinese race and civilization. Its extensive usefulness in daily life well matches its inspiring influence in intellectual circles—indeed, it is so useful and so inspiring that it has become inseparable from Chinese life. Its shoots are eaten; rafts, furniture, kitchen utensils, toys for the young and walking sticks for the old, weapons for soldiers, baskets for merchants and women, books, paper, penholders for men of letters, and instruments for musicians—all are made from bamboo. It is said that Shên Nung 神農 (? 2737 B.C.), the prehistoric emperor, used it as medicine. Documentary records were said to have been inscribed on bamboo tablets as early as the legendary reign of Huang Ti 黃帝 (? 2697 B.C.)—such as the law books, “the greater seal characters” of Shih Liu 史籀 (800 B.C.), the histographer of the Chou Dynasty. Every day and everywhere in China we are in contact with bamboo in its various forms.

Its great service in practical life so impressed the intellectual classes that they came to love it, respect it and idealize it. They have seen something beautiful and abiding beyond its material form, something quite akin to their own spirit and taste; they have attributed to it some of the ideal virtues of man and have addressed it as a teacher, a gentleman, a friend. “I cannot get along without this gentleman (meaning bamboo) even for a single day,” said Wang Wei-chih 王徽之 son of Wang Hsi-chih 王羲之 (A.D. 321-379), the father of Chinese calligraphy, whose writing about the famous gathering of the scholars in the bamboo forest around the Orchid Pavilion is still copied by present day scholars for practice in calligraphy. The three friends in winter are

the pine, the bamboo and the plum; and the four gentlemen are the plum, the orchid, the bamboo and the chrysanthemum. Every Chinese knows something about them; every poet writes about them and every artist paints them. Wang Wei's little quatrain on the bamboo reads:

"Alone I sit in the tranquil bamboo forest
Sweeping the strings and shouting long and loud;
The forest is deep; no one knows my presence,
But the bright moon comes to shine upon me."¹

In short, its strong, enduring nature serves as a symbol of perseverance; its perfectly straight body as a symbol of uprightness; its empty, tube-like stem a symbol of capacity and humility; its tough joints a symbol of chastity and firmness; and its wavering, rustling leaves a symbol of sweet melancholy.

Notwithstanding its importance in practical life and its influence over the intellectual, its chief inspiration lies in the world of painting, for here it not only serves as an independent subject, but also as a link between calligraphy and painting, and as the point of departure from the ancient and mediaeval, elaborate brush painting to that of the idealistic school which still flourishes in modern times. In order to make this clear I shall briefly trace the history of Chinese painting.

Roughly speaking, Chinese painting before the T'ang Dynasty (A.D. 618-905) was realistic in nature, realistic in the sense of a faithful and exhaustive registering of the facts of nature, and utilitarian in purpose. Just because it was utilitarian in purpose so it was realistic in nature. And painting was mostly by artisans (by very few real artists), though of the most marvelous order because of the strong encouragement outside and their own eagerness and sincerity in dealing with their subjects. For this reason, though great they were (as Ku K'ai-chih's roll in the British Museum for example), they lacked variety and power of stroke in the genuine calligraphic sense. Consequently the beauty of the ink was not found as in later painters. In other words, the canons of calligraphic writing were not applied to painting until the coming of the T'ang masters.

The advent of the T'ang Dynasty brought with it a new school of painting, the school of idealism which

¹獨坐幽篁裏 彈琴復長嘯 深林人不知 明月來相照



Finger Painting of Bamboo by Teng Kuei

reached its height in the Sung (A.D. 960-1280) and Yüan Dynasties (A.D. 1280-1368). The T'ang Dynasty at its height formed a period of expansion. Political and military triumphs together with societal prosperity widened views of life, encouraged hope, gave leisure to ponder over the charm and value of things as such, and aroused a zeal for initiative and adventure. The influence of *Zen* (*Ch'an*) Buddhism as well as Taoism widened the scope of imagination. The masters, under such influences, succeeded in achieving something new by a wide and powerful fusion of both the past and the present, the objective and the subjective, the balanced and the reticent with the eccentric and the expressive.

This new idea in painting naturally called for a new way of expression, and it so happened that these masters excelled in many fields, in poetry, scholarship and especially in calligraphy, so they applied all the principles of writing to painting, and the so-called "Ink Painting" thus developed. Ink painting made possible not only variety of strokes but also gradation of ink values or shades and tone qualities.

Among all the subjects these masters painted, bamboo serves as the best illustration, for the reason that it requires the steadiest wrist, the most firm and balanced control of the brush to paint successfully its long, straight yet jointed body and its flat, knife-like leaves. In painting bamboo no painter can hide a feeble hand, a wavering brush or lazy stroke, for its peculiar nature frankly tells everything and strikingly reveals every trick. Only the most powerful masters can paint bamboo with success, and no painter can be called a master of the idealist school unless he can paint bamboo well. It is the starting point as well as the final triumph for an idealist.

Aside from these technical requirements of bamboo painting, its mastery is also an essential part in the formation of ideas which are called vision. By vision here is meant not only the concentrated visualization of the subject for the artist's particular picture, but also his own view or idealization of it and his own mood under such circumstances. In any other painting, such as a landscape or even figures, the painter may proceed with a general conception in his mind and work out its composition and the details as he goes on, but with bamboo he cannot well do this because of its previously mentioned peculiarities; otherwise there will be signs of hesitation, hints of jarring moods and wandering

thoughts, and complete failure will result. Thus we may say that through bamboo painting with ink we are able to attain a better understanding of the psychological conditions under which the art is produced than in any other branch of Chinese art. We may also say that bamboo, being the chief representative of both the technical as well as the idealistic sides of this new school, represents a further step from ancient and mediaeval painting to that of modern times. For it has been the connecting link between calligraphy and painting, as well as the point of departure from mere artistic painting to that of personality and scholarly expression which may be rightly claimed as truly representative of the genius of Chinese art.

Coming to the painting of bamboo itself, a few points are to be made clear. First, who originally painted bamboo as an independent subject? Second, who first painted "ink bamboo"? Third, what are the technical secrets of ink bamboo painting? Finally, who are the masters of ink bamboo painting?

Madame Li 李夫人 of the later T'ang Dynasty is generally known as the original painter of ink bamboo. She earnestly studied the shadows of the bamboo wavering on the window screens under the moonlight. But according to the *Hua Shih Hui Chuan* 畫史彙傳 written by P'ên Wên-ts'an 彭蘊欒, Kuan Yü 關羽 the adopted brother of Liu Pei 劉備 Emperor of Shu Han 蜀漢 (third century A.D.) was the first painter of bamboo, and his paintings were later engraved on stone tablets. Between these two painters there were many other bamboo painters such as the great T'ang masters Wu Tao-tzū 吳道子 and Wang Wei 王維. However, none of them painted bamboo as an independent subject. The earliest artist who thus painted it as an independent subject was Wên T'ung 文同 of the Sung Dynasty (d. 1079). He was also the first to paint bamboo in ink. The masters before Wên T'ung did not paint with such definite technique as is called ink painting. They treated bamboo as they would treat any other plant, utilizing massive foliage to fill in the backgrounds of their landscapes; the features of the figures are not finely studied in their detailed exquisiteness.

Bamboo may be painted in double outline with color or without color but so far as technique is concerned, neither of these styles is as difficult to paint as ink painting; nor do these styles show as powerful strokes

and as ideal images as ink painting. The ink paintings of bamboo make use of nearly all the eight brush canons of calligraphy and the five values of ink. Unlike color painting of bamboo, which is an endeavor to attain the balance and contrast between different colors, ink painting is a triumph of writing of thought and coloring in monochrome.

Painters of ink bamboo are numerous, but a few of the greatest who may be discussed here are Wên T'ung 文同, Su Tung-p'o 蘇東坡 of the Sung Dynasty (A.D. 930-1278), Wu Chên 吳鎮, Fu Kuang 傅光, Ko Chiu-ssü 柯九思, and the wife of Chao Mêng-fu, Kuan Chung-chi 管仲姬 (1260-1333) of the Yüan Dynasty. Wang Fu, 王紱 (1362-1416), Wên Chêng-ming 文徵明, Madame Ma Hsiang-lan 馬湘蘭 of the Ming Dynasty (1368-1644), Tao Chien 道濟, Shên Nan-ping 沈南蘋, and Chêng Pan-ch'iao 鄭板橋 of the Ch'ing Dynasty (1644-1912).

Wên T'ung, a native of Szechuan, practiced penmanship for ten years but still failed to understand the secret of writing. One day this secret was suddenly revealed to him as he watched two snakes fighting by the wayside. His bamboo exhibits the dynamic quality of nature; the charm and motion in his pictures often convey to us strongly the wind blown effect.

Su Tung-p'o (1036-1101) learned his art from his friend, Wên T'ung, but on account of his different background in calligraphy he created a style of his own. His strokes have a dashing and sweeping quality, together with a restful mood, a fresh breath of life. He used a comparatively soft brush but with a very deft hand. He has a fine representation of ink values.

The Yüan Dynasty marked the zenith in ink bamboo painting on account of the widened scope of brush strokes and technical power brought into painting by its masters. Wu Chên (1280-1354), with his superior skill in "speed writing," crowned the glory of the Yüan Dynasty. The brush under the direction of his hand was transformed, as it were, into a sharp crusading sword; nothing could check the full sway of its freedom. It was like a storm come suddenly with unlimited force, crushing everything in its way.

Ko Chiu-ssü, a great master of the Yüan Dynasty, was also a great scholar. He wrote a treatise on ink bamboo painting which was the second book published in this line in Chinese art history. He applied *Li Shu* 隸書 and *K'ai Shu* 楷書 technique in painting bamboo, and his

power, like that of Wu Chên, came from the sway of the whole arm instead of the wrist.

Fu Kuang, a monk originally of Shansi Province, studied the style of Wên T'ung, but in addition he brought forth the realistic texture of the bamboo and made the subject of his picture even more intimate to his audience. But the real difference between the paintings of his teacher and those by himself is in the same category as the difference between Greek sculpture and that of Rome.

I cannot leave the Yüan Dynasty without mentioning Madame Chao Mêng-fu, still better known as Madame Kuan Tao-shan [Kuan Chung-chi]. Being a woman she naturally paints more with feeling than knowledge, with a pure heart rather than with intellect. Her work is full of rhythm and beauty which should be felt rather than studied.

The Ming Dynasty (1368-1644) was generally known as the post-renaissance in Chinese art, and bamboo painting was no exception. The greatest Ming masters were Wang Fu (1362-1416) and Wên Chêng-ming. They brought back the Sung refinement to their brush. But the too reserved discipline of Ming masters under the influence of the Confucian idea of a law abiding society, made them somewhat timid and lacking in freedom in comparison with the masters of the previous Dynasties who drew their inspiration from Buddhism and Taoism. The brush of Wên Chêng-ming deserves the same criticism as the other masters of the Ming Dynasty. The exception is one girl artist who lived a different life and held to a philosophy different from all the others. She was highly gifted and well educated but unfortunately she led a Bohemian life and the sufferings experienced by herself and observed by others made her art sadly indignant to the world without. Her strokes are charming and sweet but at the same time hold innate dignity.

Students of Chinese art are easily convinced that the polychromic landscapes of the Ch'ing Dynasty (1644-1912) are inferior to those of the Ming, but in the field of ink painting, especially in the paintings of bamboo, a certain technical beauty and freedom is revealed. The brush of Shên Nan-ping (f. 1731) is at its best in ink paintings; the naturalism and charm of the bamboo are finely portrayed. His bamboo is a typical product of the technique of *K'ai* (regular) and *Hsing* (running) calligraphy.

Chêng Pan-ch'iao, also a poet and calligrapher, was the great romantic scholar of the Ch'ing Dynasty. Although he once accepted an official post in Shantung, he was in his soul a Taoist and follower of the philosophy of Chuang Tzū. His bamboo retains a perfect, natural poise and freedom although he cannot free himself from formulas by which most Ming masters imprison themselves.

Those artists who resented or were indifferent to the rule of the Manchus became more attached to Buddhistic and Taoistic ideals. They thus strove for freedom, and freedom in art expression proved to be better and easier to attain than freedom of speech or writing. Ink bamboo offered them the best opportunity. Thus the brush of Tao Chien, better known as Monk Shih Tao 石澗和尚, was acclaimed the most powerful south of the Yangtse River. Bamboo stems painted by his brush have a tactile feeling and three dimensional quality.

From all these masterpieces we see the general tendency moving from the refinement and imagination of the Sung masters to the powerful calligraphic expressionism of the Yüan masters, and from the conservative copying of Sung refinement of the Ming to the charm and romantic freedom of the masters of the Ch'ing Dynasty.

THE PAST DECADE IN CHINESE LITERATURE

By DAVID WILLARD LYON, M.A.

The literary revolution, under the charmed leadership of Dr. Hu Shih, had its day of dawn in the year 1919. Streaks of light first illumined the pages of a few periodicals already in existence. New magazines, papers and books gradually came into being, each driving the darkness a little farther back. Thought was given greater liberty in all types of literature, when the severe restrictions of the classic style gave way to the supple language of daily speech. By the year 1925, when the Kuomintang began to gird itself for the task of achieving national control, many lines of new thinking had succeeded in attaining some degree of self-direction, and the new day had fully come. The present paper is a simple study into the nature of the literature, which during the past ten years has held the interest of the reading public. Its findings are grouped under the following headings:

- I. Translations that seem to be most in favor;
- II. Chinese writers whose writings are most in demand;
- III. Influential periodicals that have suspended publication during recent years; and
- IV. Popular present-day periodicals.

I.

The Nestor of Chinese translators was Yen Fu (嚴復), who during the closing years of the Manchu rule stood at the head of the bureau of translation of the Peking National University. He had been trained for naval service; had, when but a youth, been dean of the Naval Training School at Tientsin, and had fought in the war against Japan. But in 1894 he left the navy,

gave himself to the study of western science, and finally became the premier translator of scientific books during the early years of the twentieth century. His fame was established by his translation of Huxley's *Evolution and Ethics* (天演論), which attained a large circulation. His rendering of Spencer's *Study of Sociology* (羣學肄言) also attracted wide attention. Other books which he translated with conspicuous success were: Adam Smith's *Wealth of Nations* (原富), John Stuart Mill's *Liberty* (羣己權界論) and *System of Logic* (穆勒名學), Montesquieu's *L'Esprit des Lois* (孟德斯鳩法意), Jevon's *Elementary Lessons of Logic* (名學淺說), and E. Jenks' *Theory of Politics* (社會通詮). These translations, put into a vigorous style, which captivated the admiration of the educated classes, proved a powerful leaven, and were the first-fruits of a vitalizing process, which increased in volume with each successive stage in the growth of modern thought.

In January, 1934, the Acting Director, Dr. T. L. Yuan, of the National Library of Peiping, kindly caused to be prepared at my request a list of translated works most frequently called for by patrons of the Library. This list, rearranged in alphabetical order according to the names of the original authors, is given herewith. In a few instances I have not been able to identify the exact form of the original title; an asterisk (*) is used to indicate each such instance, the title given in this case being a re-translation of the Chinese title. The list follows:

Andrews, C. F.: Gandhi: His Own Story (甘地自傳), translated by Ming Yüeh-wu (明耀五).

Artzibashef, M.: Sanine (山甯), translated by Wu Kuang-chien (伍光建).

Barrie, James M.: The Admirable Crichton (可飲佩的克來敦), translated by Yü Shang-yüan (余上沅).

Beer, M.: Social Struggles in Antiquity (社會鬥爭通史), translated by Yeh Ch'i-fang (葉啟芳).

Bukharin, Nikolai: *Sociology and the Materialistic View of History (唯物史觀與社會學), translated by Hsü Ch'u-shêng (許楚生).

*Principles of Socialism (社會主義大綱), translated by Kao Hsi-shêng (高希聖) and Kuo Chên (郭真).

Chekhov, Anton: *Collection of Short Stories (柴霍甫短篇傑作集), translated by Chao Ching-shên (趙景深).

Defoe, Daniel: Robinson Crusoe (魯賓遜漂流記), translated by Li Lo (李縹).

Dumas, Alexandre, the Younger: *La Dame aux Camélias* (茶花女劇本), translated by Liu Fu (劉復).

Engels, Friedrich: *Taking issue with the position held by Herrn Eugen Dührings in his "Umwälzung der Wissenschaft" (反杜林論), translated by Wu Li-p'ing (吳理屏).

France, Anatole: *Thäis* (女優太倚思), translated by Hsü Wei-nan (徐蔚南).

Fülop-Müller, René: *Lenin and Gandhi* (列寧與甘地), translated by Wu Kuang-chien (伍光遜).

Goethe, Johann Wolfgang: *Faust* (浮士德), translated by Kuo Mo-jo (郭沫若); *Die Leiden des Jungen Werthers* (少年維特之煩惱) translated by Kuo Mo-jo (郭沫若).

Gorky, Maxim: *The Bystander* (四十年代), translated by Lin I-chin (林疑今).

Ibsen, Henrik: *Ibsen's Plays* (易卜生集), translated by P'an Chia-hsün (潘家洵).

League of Nations: *Report of Lytton Commission (國際聯合會調查團報告書) translated by the Ministry of Foreign Affairs (外交部).

*Report of the Committee of Nineteen on the Sino-Japanese Dispute (國聯處理中日事件之經過), translated by Pao Tê-chêng (鮑德濟).

Marx, Karl: *Das Kapital* (資本論), translated by Wang Shên-ming (王慎明) and Hou Wai-lu (侯外廬).

Remarque, Erich Maria: *All Quiet on the Western Front* (西部前線平靜無事), translated by Lin I-chin (林疑今); *The Road Back* (西線歸來), translated by Yang Ch'ang-hsi (楊昌溪).

Rousseau, Jean Jacques: *Les Confessions* (盧騷懺悔錄), translated by Chang Ching-shêng (張競生).

Shakespeare, William: *The Merchant of Venice* (威尼斯商人), translated by Ku Chung-i (顧仲彝).

Shaw, George Bernard: *Mrs. Warren's Profession* (華倫夫人之職業), translated by P'an Chia-hsün (潘家洵).

Sinclair, Upton: *Boston* (波士頓), translated by Yü Mu-t'ao (余慕陶); *Cement* (士敏土), translated by Tung Shao-ming (董紹明); *Oil* (煤油), translated by Kuo Mu-t'ao (郭沫若).

Tanaka, Premier: *The Tanaka Memorial* (日本對華最近野心之暴露), translated by Chou P'ei-fêng (周佩風).

Tolstoy, Count Lyvov Nikolaievitch: *Resurrection* (復活), translated by Kêng Chi-chih (耿濟之).

Turgenev, Ivan S.: *First Love* (初戀), translated by Hsü Ping-hsüan (徐冰鉉).

Union of Socialist Soviet Republics: **Five-Year Program of the Soviet Union* (蘇聯五年計劃), translated by Wu Shou-p'êng (吳壽彭). **Stories of the Five-Year Program* (五年計劃的故事), translated by Wu Lang-hsi (吳郎西).

Wilde, Oscar: *Lady Windemere's Fan* (溫得米耳夫人的扇子), translated by P'an Chia-hsün (潘家洵); *Salomé* (莎樂美), translated by Hsü Pao-yen (徐葆炎).

II.

The list, which follows, of Chinese writers whose writings are most in demand today is based on a report kindly prepared in January, 1934, at my request, by the National Library of Peiping, and checked against inquiries made at several other libraries:

(1) The most famous of the novelists of former days continue to hold the interest of the masses of the reading public. Particular mention is frequently made of Lo Pên (羅本), author of *San Kuo Chih Yen I* (三國志演義), Shih Nai-an (施耐庵), author of *Shui Hu Chuan* (水滸傳), and Wu Ch'êng-ên (吳承恩), author of *Hsi Yu Chi* (西遊記).

(2) Party propaganda in the early years of the present administration put the writings of Sun Wen (孫文) at the top of the list of best-sellers, especially his *San Min Chu I* (三民主義), and his *Complete Works* (中山全集). There is ground for the belief that these books are not as widely or assiduously studied as they were five years ago. It cannot be denied, however, that they are still much in demand. Another party writer, who was widely read a few years ago, is Wu Chih-hui (吳稚暉). His *Collected Writings* (吳稚暉文集) is still consulted by students.

(3) As a lecturer and writer no one was more popular a decade ago than Liang Ch'i-ch'ao (梁啟超). His death in January, 1929, removed him from the theater of action. But his numerous writings on philosophical and political subjects are yet among the books most desired by the reading public. Another thinker, bearing the same surname, with a reputation for his studies in comparative philosophy, Liang Shu-ming (梁漱溟), continues to be consulted on his old line. But greater interest is being shown in the experiments which he has recently been making in rural reconstruction in

Shantung. His newest book, the title of which might be translated, "My Latest Thoughts Regarding the Movement for the Self-Renovation of the Chinese People" (中國民族自救運動之最後覺悟), is also popular.

(4) Outstanding for a long time has been the influence of Hu Shih (胡適). In the student firmament, especially that of mature students, his star seems to shine less brightly today than a few years ago, but his writings are read with greater eagerness than ever by certain classes of adults. More books of his than of any other modern author are listed by the National Library of Peiping as best-read books.

(5) Historically minded students are fond of consulting the following: Ku Chieh-kang (顧頡剛), especially his *Preface to a Symposium on Ancient Chinese History* (古史辨); Chêng Chên-to (鄭振鐸), particularly his *History of Chinese Literature* (中國文學史); Hsiao I-shan (蕭一山), who has written a *History of the Ch'ing Dynasty* (清代通史); and Liu I-ch'êng (柳詒徵), author of a *History of Chinese Culture* (中國文化史).

(6) Writers in sociology and economics who attract special attention, perhaps because they write with a Marxian prejudice, are the following: T'ao Hsi-shêng (陶希聖), with his *Analysis of the Social History of China* (中國社會史的分析) and his *A Review and Forecast of the Problems of China* (中國問題之回顧與展望); Li Ta (李達), with his *Sociology Today* (現代社會學); Chang K'o-lin (張克林) with his *Study of Fascism* (法西斯蒂主義研究); Wang Yin-ch'uan (王印川), with his *History of Achievements in the Five-Year-Plan Effort of the Soviet Union* (蘇聯五年計劃奮鬥成功史); Hu Yü-chih (胡愈之), with his *Impressions of Moscow* (莫斯科印象記); Ts'ao Ku-ch'êng (曹谷承), with his *Records of a Visit to Soviet Russia* (蘇俄視察記); Ch'i Shu-fên, (漆樹芬) with his *China Under the Economic Tyranny of Imperialism* (帝國主義經濟侵略下之中國); and Yen Ling-fêng (嚴靈峯), with his *Study of the Economic Problems of China* (中國經濟問題研究).

(7) Persons interested in modern journalism most frequently consult *A History of Chinese Journalism* (中國報學史), by Ko Kung-chên (戈公振), better known as Kungchen Koo, of the *Shun Pao*.

(8) Among the most frequently consulted books in the field of Sino-Japanese relations are: *Sixty Years of China and Japan* (六十年來中國與日本), by Wang Yün-shêng (王芸生); *Japanese Imperialism and the*

Three Eastern Provinces (日帝國主義與東三省), by Hsü Hsing-k'ai (許興凱); and *An Exposure of Japan's Schemes in China* (揭破日本的陰謀), by Kung Tê-pai (龔德柏).

(9) In the study of constitutional government a popular book is *Constitutions Compared* (比較憲法), by Wang Shih-chieh (王世杰).

(10) The modern drama attracts much attention. The following are among the most widely read dramatists: Li Chien-wu (李健吾), who has written *The Home of the Village Chief* (村長之家); Hung Shên (洪深), author of *The Bridge of the Five Scepters* (五聖橋); and T'ien Han (田漢), who has written *Seven Maidens in the Storm* (暴風雨中的七個女娃).

(11) A collection of modern poems often called for is *Crescent Moon Poetical Selections* (新月詩選), edited by Ch'ên Mêng-chia (陳夢家). Hu Shih (胡適) has a volume called *Experiments* (嘗試集), which is also popular. Mrs. Wu Wên-tsao (吳文藻夫人), née Hsieh Wan-ying (謝婉瑩女士), who writes under the pen-name Ping Hsin (冰心), is a poetess of note; her best-known volumes of poetry are *The Stars* (衆星) and *Spring Water* (春水). Another book of poems much in demand is entitled *Poems of Chih-mou* (志摩的詩), by the late Hsü Chih-mou (徐志摩).

(12) Among short story writers none is better known and liked than Chou Shu-jen (周樹人), who writes under the pen-name of Lu Hsün, which he himself romanizes as Lu Hsiun (魯迅). His best-known collection is called *Na Han* (呐喊), which includes *The True Story of Ah Q* (阿桂正傳); this story has been put into French, English, German, Russian and other western languages. Other original stories include *Fang Huang* (彷徨), *Yeh Ts'ao* (野草), *Ch'ao Hua Hsi Shih* (朝華夕拾). Many of his writings are Communist in their implications and came under ban of the Kuomintang in February, 1934.

(13) Another popular story writer is Shên Ying-ping (沈雁冰), with the pen-name, Mao Tun (茅盾), who is likewise listed as a socialist. His most-read novels are: *Eclipse* (蝕), *Rainbow* (虹), *Twilight* (子夜), and *The Spring Silk-worm* (春蠶). The leading woman novelist, also proletarian, is Miss Chiang Ping-chih (蔣冰之女士), whose pen-name is Ting Ling (丁玲). Her first publication, *In the Dark* (在黑暗中), contains four stories in each of which the heroine is a

modern girl of some well-known type. Other much read books of hers are *Water* (水), and *Wei Hu* (韋護), the latter a story of a returned student from Russia. Every one of the books mentioned in this paragraph came under ban of the Kuomintang in February, 1934.

(14) A popular writer and translator of short stories is Chou Tso-jen (周作人), a younger brother of Lu Hsün (Chou Shu-jen). For many years the younger brother taught Chinese literature at the National University, Peking. A somewhat extended period of residence in Japan gave him opportunity to become familiar with both the language and the modern literature of that country. His books include a number that are translations from Japanese originals, one of which is entitled *K'uang Yen Shih Fan* (狂言十番). Among other works are the following: *Yung Jih Chi* (永日集), *Yü T'ien Ti Shu* (雨天的書), *Ming T'u Lü Hsing* (冥土旅行), *T'an Hu Chi* (談虎集), *T'an Lung Chi* (談龍集), and *K'an Yün Chi* (看雲集).

(15) Another story writer who is much read is Li Fei-kan (李芾甘), whose pen name is Pa Chin (巴金). He is the author of *Mieh Wang* (滅亡), and *Ssü Ch'ü Ti T'ai Yang* (死去的太陽); he is also the translator of *La Morte D'Antan* (丹東之死), by Alexis N. Tolstoi.

(16) A writer of sex novels which have a wide circulation is Chang Tzū-p'ing (張資平), who is at the same time a geologist. Among his books the following may be mentioned: *Ai Li Ch'üan Wai* (愛力園外), *Pu P'ing Hêng Ti Ou Li* (不平衡的偶力), *Fei Hsü* (飛絮), and *T'ai Li* (苔莉).

(17) A leader in the field of eugenics and constructive sex-education is Quentin Pan (潘光旦). His *Family Problems in China* (中國之家庭問題), was written with a eugenic emphasis. He has also translated parts of Ellsworth Huntington's *The Character of the Races* (自然淘汰與中華民族性).

(18) A much respected critic of ancient literature is Ch'ien Hsüan-t'ung (錢玄同), who has chosen as his pseudonym "Hsüan T'ung, Who Questions the Old" (疑古玄同). He was one of the early writers for *La Jeunesse* (新青年) and also wrote for *Yü Ssü* (語絲). His writings are liked by serious-minded students.

(19) A less critical and more popular writer on classical subjects and on literary form (小學) is Chang Ping-lin, (章炳麟), known better as Chang T'ai-yen

(章太炎). His most important lectures and writings have been collected in twenty-four volumes entitled *Chang Shih Ts'ung Shu* (章氏叢書).

(20) "The only idealist left" was the characterization, made by two persons whom I interviewed, of Chang Tung-sun (張東蓀), who was an intimate friend of Liang Ch'i-ch'ao. Although never having wandered farther than to Japan from his home-land, Chang Tung-sun is a disciple of Bergson. His translations of *Matter and Memory* (物質與記憶) and *Creative Evolution* (創化論) are well known. He is the author of at least three other books: *Essays on Philosophy* (新哲學論叢), *Moral Philosophy* (道德哲學), and *The A B C of Philosophy* (哲學ABC). An intimate friend of Chang Tung-sun, and perhaps even better known, is Carson Chang (張君勵), who has studied in Japan, Germany and England, and is known as a lecturer and writer on philosophy and political science.

III.

Casualties among Chinese periodicals have been frequent in recent years, especially during the past few months, when Kuomintang activity against "dangerous thought" has been particularly drastic. Some papers have merely succumbed to economic conditions. There have also been instances of the merging of papers into new combines. A few of the most influential publications, which have recently been suspended, are named below, listed in the order of their establishment.

(1) *Hsiao Shuo Yüeh Pao*, or *The Short Story Magazine* (小說月報). Established in January 1910. Monthly. Shanghai. Editorial staff included: Shên Ying-ping (沈雁冰), Chêng Chên-to (鄭振鐸), Kêng Chi-chih (耿濟之) and many other short story writers. Suspended publication in December, 1933. Succeeded by *Wên Hsiieh* (see "(13)" below).

(2) *Hsin Ch'ing Nien*, or *La Jeunesse* (新青年). Established in September, 1916, as a successor to *Ch'ing Nien Tsa Chih* (青年雜誌). Monthly. Shanghai. Edited in early days by Ch'ên Tu-hsiu (陳獨秀). Editorial staff has also included at various times: Kao I-han (高一涵), Hu Shih (胡適), Ch'ien Hsüan-t'ung (錢玄同), Chou Shu-jen (周樹人), Chou Tso-jen (周作人), Chiang Monlin (蔣夢麟), and others. Suspended publication in 1931.

(3) *Hsin Ch'ao* (新潮). Established in January, 1919. Monthly. Peking. Editorial staff included: Chou Tso-jen (周作人), Fu Ssü-nien (傅斯年), Lo Chia-lun (羅家倫) and K'ang Pai-ch'ing (康白情). Suspended publication in 1921.

(4) *Nu Li Chou Pao* (努力週報). Established in January, 1922. Weekly. Peking. Edited by Hu Shih (胡適). Suspended publication in 1923.

(5) *Ch'uang Tsao Chi K'an* (創造季刊). Established in November, 1922. Quarterly. Shanghai. Edited by: Ch'eng Po-ch'i (鄭伯奇), Chiang Kuang-tz'ü (蔣光慈), Kuo Mo-jo (郭沫若), and others. Suspended publication in 1924.

(6) *Ch'uang Tsao Chou Pao* (創造週報). Established in 1924, as successor to above. Weekly. Shanghai. Edited by: Kuo Mo-jo (郭沫若), Ch'eng Fang-wu (成仿吾), Chou Ch'üan-p'ing (周全平), and Ni I-tê (倪貽德). Suspended publication in 1926.

(7) *Hsien Tai P'ing Lun* (現代評論). Established in November, 1924. Weekly. Peiping. Edited by Yang Tuan-liu (楊端六). Suspended publication in 1926.

(8) *Yü Ssü* (語絲). Established on November 17, 1924. Weekly. Peking. Edited by: Chou Shu-jen (周樹人), Chou Tso-jen (周作人), Ch'ien Hsüan-t'ung (錢玄同), Lin Yü-t'ang (林語堂), and others. Suspended publication in 1928.

(9) *Shêng Huo* (生活). Established in 1925. Weekly. Shanghai. Widely read by all classes. Edited by: Tsou T'ao Fên (鄒韜奮). Suspended publication at end of 1933.

(10) *Ch'uang Tsao Yüeh K'an* (創造月刊). Established in January, 1927, as successor to "(6)" above. Monthly. Shanghai. Edited by: Kuo Mo-jo (郭沫若), Yü Ta-fu (郁達夫), Ch'eng Fang-wu (成仿吾), Chang Tzū-ping (張資平), and others. Suspended publication in 1932.

(11) *Hsin Yüeh* (新月), or *The Crescent Moon*. Established in 1928. Monthly. Shanghai. Edited by: Yeh Kung-ch'ao (葉公超), Hu Shih (胡適), Liang Shih-ch'iu (梁實秋), Yü Shang-yüan (余上沅), Quentin Pan (潘光旦), Lo Lung-chi (羅隆基), and Shao Hsün-mei (邵洵美). Suspended publication at end of 1933.

(12) *T'ai Yang Yüeh K'an* (太陽月刊). Established in January, 1928. Monthly. Shanghai. Edited by: P'êng K'ang (彭康), Li Ch'u-li (李初黎), Fêng Nai-ch'ao

(馮乃超), Chiang Kuang-tz'ü (蔣光慈), and Yang Tun-jen (楊邨人). Suspended publication in 1932.

(13) *Wên Hsüeh* (文學). Established in July, 1933. Monthly. Shanghai. Edited by Yü Ta-fu (郁達夫). Required to suspend publication in 1934.

IV.

A striking feature of the new-thought movement in China is the emphasis which has been laid on the issuance of periodical literature. Practically all present-day writers have made large use of such literature as a channel for the transmission of their ideas. The second issue of an *Index of Periodical Literature* prepared by the National Library of Peiping, covering the five years ending May, 1933, is as large a volume as the first issue of the same *Index*, which spans a preceding period of over twenty years. This is an indication of the rapid growth during recent years in the volume of this type of literature. One hundred and ninety three separate periodicals are indexed in the later issue. In the list below I have not included those on education, economics, history, philosophy, and other specialized subjects. I have attempted, rather, to indicate a few general periodicals which are widely read by students and the educated classes. Three of the older popular magazines are the following:

(1) *Tung Fang Tsa Chih* (東方雜誌) or *The Eastern Miscellany*. Established in 1904. Semi-monthly. Shanghai. Edited by Li Shêng-wu (李聖五).

(2) *Kuo Wên Chou Pao* (國聞週報). Established in 1924. Weekly. Tientsin. Edited by Wang Yün-shêng (王芸生).

(3) *Liang Yu T'u Shu Tsa Chih* (良友圖書雜誌). Established in January, 1927. Monthly. Shanghai. Edited by Ma Kuo-liang (馬國亮).

The past two years have proven a veritable spring-time in the history of periodical literature. Scientific, educational and technical magazines have become numerous and popular. Other types include two useful weeklies which began publication in 1932: *Hwa Nien* (華年), at Shanghai, and *Tu Li P'ing Lun* (獨立評論), at Peiping. The former, under the editorship of Mr. Quentin Pan (潘光旦), has been consistently humanistic, in the broad sense, in what it has had to say on current events and social problems, while the latter has been an organ of free debate and untrammelled criticism, guided by the

courageous pen of Dr. Hu Shih (胡適), its founder and editor. In May of the same year *Tsai Shêng* (再生), or *The Renaissance*, appeared as a monthly in Peiping under the editorship of Carson Chang (張君勱) and Chang Tung-sun (張東蓀). Two other monthlies of a more general nature, which likewise began publication in 1932, both of them with headquarters at Shanghai were: *Hsien Tai* (現代) and *Shên Pao Yüeh K'an* (申報月刊). In September, 1932, Dr. Lin Yü-t'ang (林語堂) began the publication of *Lun Yü* (論語), a semi-monthly which gives full field for his gifts of penetrating criticism and satire. During the year 1933 Shanghai witnessed the appearance of *Wên Hsüeh* (文學), a short-story monthly which took the place of the defunct *Hsiao Shuo Yüeh Pao* (but was required, in 1934, to suspend publication), and *Fu Hsing Yüeh K'an* (復興月刊), a semi-official monthly organ for the discussion of national and international matters. In January, 1934, an ambitious quarterly claiming to have a hundred editorial writers, appeared in Peiping under the caption *Wên Hsüeh Ch'i K'an* (文學季刊), the first issue of which was promptly sold out. The nature of the literature just listed, and the sudden appearance of such a large number of new periodicals, would seem to justify the inference that more people are interested in reading current magazines than formerly, and that a growing percentage of the reading public is willing to buy a relatively expensive type of publication. Or, to put the inference in a slightly different form, more people seem to be thinking; and their thoughts seem to include a wider range of subjects than ever before.

DISCOURSES ON SALT AND IRON

(*Yen T'ieh Lun*: Chaps. XX-XXVIII)*

By ESSON M. GALE, Ph.D.

Peter A. Boodberg, Ph.D., and T. C. Lin, Ph.D.,
collaborators.

[*In continuation of *Discourses on Salt and Iron* 鹽鐵論, *A Debate on State Control of Commerce and Industry in Ancient China*, Chaps. I-XIX, translated from the Chinese of Huan K'uan (81 B.C.) with Introduction and Notes, by Esson M. Gale, Ph.D. (Late E. J. Brill, Ltd., Leyden, 1931). Reviewed in this *Journal*, Vol. LXIII; and in the *Chinese Social and Political Science Review*, Vol. XV, No. 4; see also *ibid.*, Vol. XVIII (April, 1934), pp. 1-52, "The Genesis and Meaning of Huan K'uan's 'Discourses on Salt and Iron,'" by Chun-Ming Chang. The Commercial Press, Ltd., Shanghai, has published (1934) a newly edited text by 林振翰.]

CHAPTER XX.

MUTUAL RECRIMINATIONS.

(a) The Lord Grand Secretary: When the ancients set as standard the *Well-tithe System*¹ and put into effect regulations for homestead and hamlet, with every hearty fellow busy tilling his plowland and field and every wench tending her hemp and carl-hemp, no land lay fallow and no man drifted idly; none but the artizan and the merchant was allowed to live upon the increment of his capital, none but the sturdy husbandman to enjoy the fruit of his crops, none but those actually in control of administration, to taste of the corollaries of office and rank. But here we have now 'Confucianists by profession'² who, having laid aside plough and share, concentrate on learning to discourse on matters unproven and unprovable, wasting day after day and consuming

¹ 井田 Cf. *Discourses*, II, p. 16, note 2.

² 儒者 For the use of the term *Confucianist* cf. *Discourses*, VI, p. 38, note 9. See also J. K. Shryock, *The Origin and Development of the State Cult of Confucius*, Chap. VII.

valuable time, without contributing in the least to actual working problems. They come and go in their aimless mayfly-like perambulations,³ upturning no soil for their food, rearing no silkworms for their clothing, but fraudulently impersonating people of station even unto encroaching on the farmers and encumbering the administration, yea, constituting a genuine cause for concern in our society!

(b) The Literati: When, perturbed by the disaster of the Great Flood,⁴ Yü personally undertook the labor of dealing with it, wading through bogs and sleeping by the roadside, he never entered his home even when passing by its gate. In these moments, when he had no time to pick up a fallen hairpin or turn back for his hat forgotten where he had hung it, do you think he could find leisure to till the land?⁵ *'Twas hateful to the poet who could not remain silent: 'tis hateful to me, Ch'iu: I cannot conform,*⁶ exclaimed Confucius, so three score and ten times⁷ he harangued the princes east, west, south, north, all without avail. Thereupon he retired and culminated the Way of the Kings, composed the *Ch'un Ch'iu* and handed it down to posterity to serve as a criterion and standard for the world unto eternity. Would you deem that equipollent to common man and woman's farming and weaving? *Should the superior man fail to move at the proper time, says the Chuan, there will be no pageant of edification for the people.* Therefore, none but the superior man is to govern the common sort, as without the common folk there will be no one to support the superior man. The latter should not occupy himself in farming or weaving after the fashion of every Jack and Jane. Should superior men engage themselves in the cultivation of land to the detriment of their studies it would only point the road to anarchy.⁸

(c) The Lord Grand Secretary: When discoursing on polity you are, Oh Literati, superior indeed to T'ang and Yü, and higher than the autumn sky when talking

³ As in *Huai Nan Tzū* 浮游 often is equivalent to 蜉蝣 ephemerids, may-flies.

⁴ Cf. *Discourses*, II, p. 17, note 2.

⁵ For the cycle of legends of Yü cf. Granet, *Danses et légendes de la Chine ancienne*, II, pp. 466-572. Cf. also *Mencius*, III, i, iv, 7.

⁶ Quotation unidentified. Cf., however, *Lun Hêng* (Forke's trans.), ch. XXIX, 2 and *K'ung Tzū Chi Yü* 孔子集語, ch. V.

⁷ Cf. *Shuo Yüan*, 至公; *Huai Nan Tzū* 泰族訓.

⁸ *Mencius* vindicates the propriety of the division of labor and of a lettered class conducting government in III, i, iv.

honor. You certainly blossom forth in speech—but we have yet to see your fruits. In days of old when Kung-i was chancellor of Lu under the reign of Duke Mu, Tzū Ssü and Tzū Yüan served as his ministers, and lo! in the north, they ceded territory to Ch'i down to the line of the river Ssü, in the south, they cowered before the Ch'u barbarians, in the west, they paid homage to the state of Ch'in. When Mêng K'o took up his abode in Liang, the troops of that state were smashed by Ch'i, their high commander dead, their crown-prince, captive; to the west, they were defeated by Ch'in and were forced to abandon to the enemy frontier districts and relinquish lands to the extent of losing all the territory within the River and without.⁹ Consider also Chung-ni's school, his seventy disciples,¹⁰ who abandoned father and mother, broke up home and family, and followed Confucius bag and baggage—they did not plow, they studied! and anarchy meanwhile increased apace. Therefore, with your chestful of jade chips do not deem yourselves possessors of treasures, nor regard yourselves as possessing Virtue through your droning of the *Odes* and the *Historical Documents* and your carrying books by the basketful. Our all-important task is to bring peace to the nation and prosperity to the people without further indulging in involved rhetoric and multifarious speeches.

(d) The Literati: Just as Yü perished for not following Po-li Hsi's advice, so Duke Mu of Ch'in achieved the hegemony as a result of adopting it. As thus proved, doomed is he who employs not the worthy; would you then expect such an one to avoid cession of territory?¹¹ When Mencius arrived at Liang, King Hui inquired of him on the way to profit, but he replied as to humanity and justice—they could not even come to terms, so Mencius finding no employment was forced to leave, hiding his treasure in his bosom and speaking no more of it.¹² Thus, it would not sate one's hunger, having grain and not partaking of it, nor does it repair loss of

⁹ Cf. *Mencius* I, I, v, 1. (See Legge, *Chinese Classics*, Vol. II, p. 134, note).

¹⁰ On the varying number of disciples attributed to Confucius see Legge, *Chinese Classics*, Vol. I, pp. 112-127.

¹¹ This passage is taken from *Mencius*, VI, II, vi, 4, with slight variations.

¹² Cf. *Mencius* I, I, 1. The philosopher left Liang not because of the state of his relations with King Hui, but because the latter's son and successor, King Hsiang, was less favorably disposed to him. On 懷(其)寶 see *Lun Yü*, XVIII, 1.

territory, when you perceive a worthy yet not employ him. In Tyrant Chou's time there were at court the two viscounts, Chi and Wei, and Chiao Ko and Chi Tzū abroad, yet he could not keep them nor preserve his dynasty.¹³ Now, when you speak and they follow you not, you admonish, and they hear you not, though you be a man of superior talent, how can you prove to be of benefit to government?

(e) The Lord Grand Secretary: All people find delicious the oranges and pumeloes that are grown south of the River, for all palates share the sense of taste; the lovely tunes produced in Chêng and Wei are enjoyed by all people for the sense of hearing is alike to all ears. I-wu, a man of Yüeh, and Yu Yü, a Jung [barbarian], could be understood only through interpreters, but both were highly honored, the one in Ch'i, the other in Ch'in, for in all men's hearts good and evil find the same response. Thus, when Tsêng Tzū sang on the hillside, the mountain birds came fluttering down; when the music master Kuang stroked his lute, all the animals came dancing to him, for there never was excellence that met no response, and sincerity that found no answering call. May we not infer that there is lack of sincere purpose on your part? For what other reason could there be for no visible actualization of your speeches and your practices finding no meetness?

(f) The Literati: A sick man adverse to needle or physic, P'ien Ch'iao himself would be unable to cure; a prince unwilling to swallow the bitter truth, the worthiest sage is unable to set aright. Thus, Hsia perished in spite of Chieh having Kuan Lung-fêng at his side, and Shang was extinguished, though there were three worthies with the Yin. We have no reason to deplore the lack of arguments such as were advanced by Yu Yü or I-wu; we regret only there is no one to give ear to them as Dukes Huan and Mu did. Thus it was that, went he east or west, Confucius found no favorable reception, and Ch'ü Yüan saw himself driven away from the kingdom of Ch'u, an exile. It has been said, therefore: *If we do honest public service where shall we go and not be often dismissed? And if we are willing to do dishonest public*

¹³ Lu suggests changing 棘 to 箕. Chi Tzū has already been mentioned, however, and it is therefore hardly possible that he would have been spoken of again. The *Hua pên* writes 諸 "others." The context would rather require 而 or 然 in place of 故.

service¹⁴.....to the end of our days, we may add, there will be no lack of 'visible actualization' of such as our speeches would then be and no lack of 'meetness to our practices.'

(g) The Lord Grand Secretary: As a singer does not strive to reach high falsetto, but puts value in following closely the rhythm, so the expositor does not tarry to fashion beauteous periods so that he may concentrate upon the crux of matters under consideration. Though one may possess a good voice, he cannot be said to be a singer if he be ignorant of the principles of solfeggio, so likewise he cannot be considered as one able to discourse who, though he utter excellent words, is ignorant of the intricacies of exposition. You pick your compass and find fault with the square, clutch your water-level, but criticize the plumb-line, the single hole—you know it perfectly, the single vein or streak—you have investigated it thoroughly, but poise and scale is somewhat entirely beyond your knowledge. Like cicadas which never behold the snow, you refuse to believe others when it comes to things that are beyond your ken. Your sticking obstinately to ancient script and attempting to meet with it the requirements of the present age is just as incongruous as trying to bring Orion and Scorpio together and tuning a harp after having glued fast the pegs. You may try your hardest, you will find it still harder to make things fit. Thus it was that Confucius was found of no use by his age and Mêng K'ò found himself slighted by the feudal lords.

(h) The Literati: The sun and moon shine in splendour, but the blind see them not; thunderclaps resound, but the deaf hear them not. To speak for the benefit of those who know not rhyme nor reason, is but to talk to the deaf and mute, dumber than cicadas unaware of snow-drifts! Now, I Yin with all his wisdom, T'ai Kung with all his accomplishments could not make their words prevail before such as Chieh and Chou, not because of any error on the part of the speakers, but because of the default of the hearers. Thus Ching Ho clasped to his bosom his gem-matrix and wept bitter tears of blood, crying: 'Where shall I get a master craftsman who will cut my stone?'; and Ch'ü Yüan roamed along the marsh side wailing: 'Where shall I get a Kao Yao

¹⁴ The *Chün Shu Chih Yao* completes the quotation as in *Lun Yü*, XVIII, 2.

who will decide my case?' There is no prince, we believe, who would not like to search out worthy men that they might assist him, who would not be glad to employ an able man that might bring good government to his state, but.....princes are misled by insinuations and beguiled by flattery. As a result worthies and sages are hidden from them as if with a screen while deceitful sycophants are in control of the business of state. It is due to this state of affairs that kingdoms go to their doom and ruling houses fall while worthies and sages live in indigence in their mountain caves. Formerly, Chao Kao, a man of ordinary wisdom, seated himself on the seat of power ten thousand fold beyond his ability, and consequently brought to its ruin the kingdom of Ch'in, the disaster engulfing him and all his family. He lost his "harp" entirely: what kind of "tuning with pegs glued fast" would you call that?

(i) The Lord Grand Secretary: What we would call Literati of high grade are men whose wisdom and ability are equal to making illustrious the art of ancient kings, are men of parts and substance competent to walk in their path. Such would thus be able to become leaders and teachers of humanity should they remain at home, and a law and an example to the world should they be called to public service. But Literati of your type, such as we have with us to-day, sing the praises of Yao and Shun, when discussing matters of government, and talk of Confucius and Mencius when setting forth the principles of morals; let us but surrender to them some actual problem of administration, and they are unable to make any headway. While doting over the ways of the Ancients, you never succeed in putting them into practice; you speak straight, but make your path crooked; faithful in principle, you are faithless in spirit; in your robes and coifs you can be certainly distinguished from the villager, but in essence there is nothing that marks you off from the commonest sort. All your doctors, so-called straight and true, have merely grasped the lucky opportunity of the time in presenting themselves to make up the prescribed number; we cannot possibly term them enlighteningly selected. I see indeed no possibility yet to discuss with them intelligently the principles of government.

(j) The Literati: Heaven set the Three Luminaries in order to lighten the course of time, the Son of Heaven established high ministers to make manifest orderly rule.

It is said, therefore, that the high ministers of state at once form the "contour" of the Four Seas and constitute the "coloring" of Spiritual Progress. Theirs is the responsibility of supporting the enlightened monarch's dignity above, and theirs the business of completing the work of His Sagely education below. It is they who bring *Yin* and *Yang* into harmony and attune the four seasons; they who bring peace to the masses and sustain all mankind, so that the Hundred Clans working in harmony may show no sign of frustrated aspirations and the barbarians on the four corners of the world, yielding meekly to Imperial Virtue, may give no cause for worry by a rebellious attitude. Such is the duty of high ministers and that which should engage the attention of those worthy of it, as were I Yin and Dukes Chou and Shao, talents equal to the demands of the offices of the *Three Kung*, and T'ai T'ien and Hung Yao, men able to fulfill the charges of the *Nine Ch'ing*.¹⁵ If we, the Literati have failed to come up to the mark in the Sage Monarch's enlightened selection, is it not also true that those now in control of administration cannot be said to possess overbounding virtue.

(k) Displeased, the Lord Grand Secretary colored and made no reply.

(l) The Literati: Eclipsed is the administration of a court when there is no loyal minister within it; tottering is the seat of a lord who has no honest vassal. After Jen Tso spoke straight and true of the faults of his prince, Marquis Wên mended his speech and conduct and came to be praised as a worthy prince; after Yüan Yang criticized Marquis Chiang's arrogance and haughtiness right in his face, the latter finished by earning great happiness thereby. Therefore, he who is constantly battering at the shortcomings of his lord, running straight into the danger of death, is a loyal servant; and he is a straightforward knight who dares to face an angry countenance in correcting the misdeeds of a high minister. Humble provincials that we are we cannot criticize you behind your back in our alley-asides. Now that the Ruler of Men has drawn his bow to full strength, that his instructions and regulations are taut and unslackened, we find that, in many cases salaries and emoluments are given to the wrong persons, so as to encumber farmer,

¹⁵ *Three Kung* 三公, cf. *Discourses* ch. X, p. 62, note 4; *Nine Ch'ing* 九卿, *ibid.*, ch. V, p. 31, note 5, including the *Three Kung*. Cf. Mayers, *Chi. Reader's Manual*.

merchant and artizan alike; that market profits never revert to the people, whose expectations are not filled up. We find, moreover, that the principles of Emperor and King are mostly in decadence and are cultivated no more. *Teeming, teeming are the knights at court* says the *Book of Odes*.¹⁶ It is our earnest purpose that this plan be applied to remedy the situation; it is not that we insist merely upon pouring forth empty verbiage.

CHAPTER XXI.

HOW WAYS DIVERGE.

(a) The Lord Grand Secretary: It has been your wont to tell us that the Seventy Disciples who received in person instructions in the science of the Sage and ranked so famous in the School of Confucius were all of the caliber that fitted them to become ministers and chancellors to the feudal lords, while several of them were qualified to sit facing the south as rulers themselves. *For public administration, there were Jan Yu and Chi Lu; for oratory and dialectics, Tsai Wo and Tzū Kung*.¹ Tsai Wo, who obtained hold over affairs and enjoyed so great a favor in Ch'i, found, nevertheless, that his principles could not be put into effect when T'ien Ch'ang fomented trouble, and perished himself in the great courtyard, while his patron, Duke Chien, was being murdered in the T'an Tower.² Tzū Lu took up service in Wei, but during the revolution provoked by K'uei he was unable to save his prince, and while Ch'u³ fled Tzū Lu's

¹⁶ *Shih Ching*, IV, 1, (i), 1.

¹ Cf. *Shih Chi*, Ch. LXVII, Preface.—Names of historical personages mentioned in the text are usually to be found in *Discourses*, Glossary A., Historical. Otherwise consult *Chinese Biographical Dictionary* 中國人名大辭典 (Shanghai, Commercial Press, 1921) or H. A. Giles, *Chinese Biographical Dictionary* (London, 1898).

² 宰我 seems to be a mistake for 闕止. (cf. Note in *Shih Chi*, 67, bio. of Tsai Yü).

³ Ch'u 出 evidently refers to Duke Ch'u, but the title *Kung* 公 is unaccountably omitted. On the other hand *ch'u* cannot represent the verb as 出亡 "to flee" as Tzū Lu is noted for loyally remaining at his post. Cf. Soothill, *Analects*, Intro., p. 80 for the episode, in which Tzū Kung and Tzū Kao also participated. *Tso Chuan*, Ai Kung, XV.

body was embrined in Wei.⁴ Tzū Kung and Tzū Kao made their escape; they could not die for their prince in the hour of his peril. They enjoyed handsome salaries bestowed upon them, but were unable to requite their benefactor, sat in the honorable offices conferred upon them but proved themselves incapable to safeguard the interests of their patron. Why, pray, did they put so much stock in their own persons and so little in their prince's. Fellow-students and confrères, all these men thought themselves well-versed in the moral principles of ancient and modern times and able to make illustrious the decorous interdependence of prince and minister. Yet while some fittingly died, others sought safety in flight. These several gentlemen followed divergent roads. Wherein lies this contumacy to principle?

(b) The Literati: Duke Shang⁵ of Sung perished himself because of his failure to employ K'ung Fu earlier though he knew his great worth; Duke Chuang of Lu likewise knew the ability of Chi Yu, but surrendered him the administration too late to save his state from anarchy. The prince of Wei surrounded himself with specious flatterers and estranged men of talent; thus, Tzū Lu remained at P'u, while K'ung K'uei was in charge of the government. Duke Chien paid no heed to Tsai Wo and let the latter's secret plans leak out. Thus it came about that the two princes suffered, one exile, the other death, and the disaster encompassed their faithful ministers. The other two gentlemen, though they had charges, yet were not given an opportunity to participate in their ruler's policies, they could die for him, but so could they also choose to live: whether they stayed or departed, their honor remained unimpaired. Yen Ying could not be termed disloyal to his prince when he did not die in the trouble of Ts'ui Ch'ing; and could Viscount Wei be said to lack in humanity when he fled the anarchy of the Yin?

(c) The Lord Grand Secretary: The unadulterated simplicity of the supremely beautiful nothing can embellish further; so no artificial elaboration can add a thing to supreme worth which holds fast to its essence. Thus a jade solitaire needs not be carved, nor a beautiful

⁴ Cf. Mo Tzū 非儒下: 子路爲享豚孔某不問肉之所由來而食 Cf. Granet, *Danses*, p. 166.

⁵ 蕩 is an obvious mistake for 蕩 Shang, the duke of Sung murdered in 710 B.C. (*Ch'un Ch'iu* 桓 II).

⁶ I.e. Tzū Kung and Tzū Kao.

pearl decorated with designs. Now, Chung Yu and Jan Ch'iu had not the toughness of hance timber, nor was the gem of their talent enclosed in a Sui Ho matrix; to spend one's efforts to embellish them would be similar to carving decayed wood or polishing a lead knife, to beautifying Mo Mu or painting a clay figure. Such as the latter though decorated with all the five colors would be resplendant enough as a finished product, but let him but come into contact with driving rain and raging waves then he will turn to slush. To dote too much on ancient principles with the *Odes* and the *Documents* for pillow and mat would bring no peace in moments of danger or good government in times of anarchy. You will find as much company with such methods as field watchmen chasing chickens.

(d) The Literati: If it were not for Learning there would be nothing wherewith to cultivate one's personality; nothing would sustain Virtue, if it were not for Propriety. The Empire's beautiful treasure was the jade-matrix of Ho Shih, but its beauty became manifest only after it underwent the skilled treatment of an expert gem-cutter. The most winsome in all the Empire was the Lady Mao, but her beauty become recognized only after she had made use of fragrant ointments and rich powder. The greatest Sage of the world was Chou Kung, but even he had to pass through the hands of virtuous teachers and a course of instruction before he became perfect. But at the present time we see mediocrities scarcely rising higher than the common level disdaining study and instruction and relying exclusively upon their stupid selves and yet taking upon their shoulders immense responsibilities. This course of action can only be compared with trying to cross river or sea without oar or rudder only to be carried away by the first encountered storm and sunk in an abyss a hundred fathoms deep or to drift eastward to the shoreless Ocean. From such a predicament do you expect to get away with only being a little "squashed"?

(e) The Lord Grand Secretary: Things being flexible and inflexible in their very nature, beautiful and ugly in their permanent form, the sage man can only

⁷ Cf. *Shuo Yüan* (Confucius speaking): 丹漆不文白玉不雕寶珠不飾何也質有餘者不受飾也。

follow the natural bent, he cannot hope to alter nature.⁸ Confucius succeeded only in changing the outward dress of two or three of his disciples, he could not convert their hearts. Thus Tzū Lu unbuckling his long sword and doffing his bully's cap bent in low obeisance at the gate of the Master, but in his treatment of teacher and friends he continued in his boisterous ways and remained at heart a rowdy. Tsai Yü slept in the daytime and wished to shorten the three year long period of mourning. *A wall of dirt is unfit for plastering*, thereupon exclaimed Confucius, *A man like Yu will not come to a natural death.*⁹ Hence, attempting to learn culture outwardly while lacking its essence within is like trying to paint on grease and carve in ice—though one may have virtuous teachers and excellent friends, it is nothing but a waste of time and energy. Thus the best teacher cannot improve upon Ch'i Shih, nor can most fragrant ointment transform Mo Mu.

(f) The Literati: A country bumpkin would cover his nose at the sight of beauty covered with filth, but the homeliest man in gorgeous attire may serve in the sacrifices to Shang Ti. If these two men, Tzū Lu and Tsai Yü, had not passed through the school of the Sage, they would never have escaped the lot of the beggar; how would they have acquired their reputation as lords and ministers? As the whetstone is the wherewithal by which a blade is sharpened, so study is the means to bring out all the possibilities of latent ability. Said Confucius: *A Wassail-bowl that is not a bowl, what a bowl! what a bowl!*¹⁰ Thus if man apply himself to improve upon it, it will come to serve as a vessel in the ancestral temple; if not, then it must have an innate flaw in its grain. If a sword forged in Kan Yüeh remain unsharpened, the common man will disdain it, but after the craftsman has applied his skill to it, the ruler of men will put it on to appear at court. Now, an ugly hag under the impression that she is beauteous, will not try to embellish herself; a stupid fellow who deems himself wise will not study. Unbeknown to themselves, they make of their persons a laughing stock. Their fault lies in their disinclination to use the services of others and in trusting unto themselves.

⁸ Although such terms as 柔 and 剛 occur already in the *I Ching* (see 繫辭), they became popularized in Taoist ideology (cf. *Lao Tzū*, ch. LXXVIII).

⁹ *Lun Yü*, V, 9 and XI, 12.

¹⁰ *Lun Yü*, VI, 23.

CHAPTER XXII.

IMPEACHING THE WORTHY.

(a) The Lord Grand Secretary: Broken will be the inflexible, and bent, the flexible¹: thus Chi Yü died because of his stiff-neckedness, and Tsai Wo was murdered being yielding and weak. But if these two men had not acquired learning, they probably would not have died their death. How so? Learning made them proud of themselves and boastful of their abilities; knowing little, grabbing much; wishing that men follow them and unable to follow others; self-admiring, when no one even glanced at them; self-appraising when no one even bargained for them. This is how they ended their lives by being murdered and finished by being embrined and enmarinated.² We have not yet seen them made into "temple vessels," but we saw them utterly disgraced before the world. At that time would you also send them fitting eastward to find rest?³

(b) The Literati: When the noble steed hitched to a salt wain struggled up the slopes of T'ai Hang with bent head⁴ the butcher cast glances at it, clutching his cleaver. When in dire poverty T'ai Kung was carrying his peddler's wares at Ch'ao Ko, the tousle-heads gathered in crowds to mock him. It was not that at that time they did not possess far-carrying sinews and the speed of fleeting coursers, but there were no Wên Wang or Po Lo who would recognize their worth. Tzû Lu and Tsai Wo during their lives did not happen to receive promotion at the hands of a Po Lo, but ran into a mad butcher. Hence the Superior Man sorrowed for them: *A man like Yu will not come to a natural death. Is heaven thus afflicting me?*⁵ K'ung Fu was involved in the troubles of

¹ Cf. note 8, chap. XXI, *supra*.

² 菹醢. Cf. note 4, chap. XXI. The binom is usually translated "sliced to death." See Li Ling's "Letter to Su Wu," Giles, *Gems* (Prose), p. 85.

³ Lu suggests reading 乘 for 東, seeing in the expression a reference to "Tzû Lu wishing to sail over the sea" (*Lun Yü*, V, vi). It appears, however, only a repartee of the Lord Grand Secretary to the Literati's attack in para. d, chap. XXI.

⁴ Supply 之坂 after 太行 following the *T'ai P'ing Yü Lan* and the *I Wên Lei Chü*. The derivation of this apparent quotation has not been ascertained. It occurs frequently in later literature.

⁵ 天其祝予矣. The first part of the quotation is from *Lun Yü* already noted; the second part from *Kung Yang Chuan*, Duke Ai, XIVth year.

Hua Tu, but he could not be said to be unloyal; Ch'iu Mu passed through the disaster of Sung Wan, but he cannot be said not to be worthy.

(c) The Lord Grand Secretary: Among the scholars of to-day there are none with the ability of T'ai Kung or the innate capacity of a noble steed, but there are indeed wasps and scorpions that swollen with poison only harm themselves. Such were Ch'êng Hsiung of Tung Hai and Hu Chien of Ho Tung. From the ranks of common soldiers these two men were promoted for their learning to post of magistrates. Yet not only did they prove to be conceited and unwilling to cooperate with anyone, but called in, they would not come; pushed out, they would not go. Capering and flippant, stubborn and impolite, insolent lackeys to the princesses, and trespassers towards the high ministers, they tried forcibly to do what they knew was impossible. Their eagerness to make a name for themselves, led them into unlawful ways and sure enough they lost their lives. We cannot perceive their achievement to any extent, but we have witnessed their execution between the two pylons. Suffering the extreme penalty they could not finish their days in peaceful old age. Effrontery they took for wisdom, blazoning others' faults for straightforwardness, impudence for bravery.⁶ It is indeed proper that they should meet with calamity.

(d) The Literati: These two honorable gentlemen had in their bosoms hearts of the purest whiteness and walked in the path of loyalty and uprightness; they cultivated straightforwardness in serving their superiors and strained their forces in making manifest the public good. Upholding law and promoting order, they did not favor relatives, nor put great emphasis upon safeguarding their wives and children, nor pay attention to the promotion of their private fortunes. Yet in the end they did not succeed in escaping from jealous and slanderous persons and succumbed to the pushing of the all too numerous 'crooks.'⁷ This is the explanation for unexpected penalties being heaped upon them and their achievements left incomplete. For when members of the reigning clan are not upright, then laws and regulations are not enforced; when the ruler's right hand men are

⁶ 狡: 狡 effrontery as in *Lun Yü*, VIII, 2. Cf. 中論嚴辯 (K'ung-tzû Chî Yü, ch. III) 孔子曰小人毀譽以爲辯。狡急以爲智。不通以爲勇。

⁷ The Chinese 枉 "crooked" bears out the translation.

not upright, then treachery and evil flourish. When Chao Shê executed the law upon the lord of P'ing Yüan, and Fan Chü upon Marquis Jang, good government was preserved in the two states and at the same time both houses were kept intact. Thus, when the ruler commits a mistake, the minister should rectify it; when superiors err, inferiors should criticize them. When high ministers are upright, can magistrates be anything else? It is indeed highly remiss of you who are in actual control of administration to find fault with others instead of turning to examine your own persons. For Ch'ü Yüan's drowning in the deep can be traced to the slander of Tzū-shu, but that Kuan Tzū was able to put into effect his principles was due to the efforts of Pao-shu. At the present moment we cannot detect any efforts on the part of Pao-shu, but we envisage only the tragedy of the Mi Lo. Even though we would entertain the "finishing our days in peaceful old age," could we hope to realize it?

CHAPTER XXIII.

PURSUING THE WAY.¹

(a) Secretaries! called the Lord Grand Secretary, but before they could answer he turned to the Cancellarius² and said: These Literati have been learning how to argue since they first tied their hair.³ They are so surcingle with words you cannot tear them away from their periods which seem to run in circles and their roulades unstopping like the potter's wheel. Their tirades are as showy as the flowers of spring, but are as futile as an attempt to embrace the wind. They bedeck their emptiness so as to injure substance and discourse on antiquity to the detriment of things modern. If we follow them now, then the government will be deprived of its revenue, for their vacuous proposals cannot really be put into effect. If we do not adopt their plans, these

¹ 道 "occurs everywhere with a moral application, meaning the way or course to be pursued, the path of reason, of principle, of truth, etc." Legge, *Chi. Classics*, Vol. II, Index III, p. 579.

² 丞相史, evidently a member of the Lord Chancellor's secretariat.

³ 結髮 Cf. *Discourses*, ch. XVII, p. 106, note 2.

literati will continue to criticize us. For too long a time the din raised by this mob has been unbearable in the great metropolitan offices of the ministers. Now would you suggest a feasible plan that we could adopt so as to be in accordance with antiquity and at the same time clarify the present situation?

(b) Then advanced the Cancellarius and said: Duke Wên of Chin was cunning but lacked uprightness, while Duke Huan of Ch'i was upright but never cunning. Their motives were not alike, yet both of them reached the goal of the Hegemony.⁴ If one be obliged to follow old ways unswervingly and carry on old precedents unchangingly, then culture would never supplant crudeness and carts with rimless wheels would still be with us. Hence some create anew, while others transmit; then only can laws and regulations be consonant to the people's needs and instruments and implements expedient for use. Confucius⁵ in his interviews with the three rulers expressed different ideas and Yen Tzū adopted varying principles in serving as Chancellor to three princes; not that these two men insisted upon contradicting themselves, but that the exigencies of the times were different. Our lords high ministers have now already set out upon the road of the great undertaking and planted firmly the root of inexhaustible profit. I wish you would not hark back to minute analysis of antiquity and would cease dragging in your Confucianist and Mihist arguments.⁷

(c) The Literati: K'uang, the Music-master, when harmonizing the pentachord never missed the sol-fa;⁸ the sage Emperors never departed from charity and justice,

⁴ 霸 Also popularized in English as "Protectorate." Cf. *Discourses*, Glossary, for the two names. See H. Maspero, *La Chine Antique*, Livre III, p. 281, Bib. and footnote; also p. 295, footnote.

⁵ Cf. *Discourses*, ch. VII, p. 43, note 2.

⁶ The omission of 子, Confucius' title, is rather unaccountable here, as the sentence balance requires the additional character. There is, however, an element of disdain perceptible in the Cancellarius' words here, where he employs Confucius' well known expressions 作 and 述 "a transmitter not an originator," *Lun Yü*, VII, 1. Yen Tzū is given the title as a successful administrator.

⁷ The confusion in thought at this time is indicated by the coupling of Ju and Mo together when actually Mencius 亞 墨 inveighed against the teachings of Mo-ti. It is thus difficult to believe with Shryock that Confucius was fully accepted in Han Wu-ti's time (*loc. cit.*, Chap. III.)

⁸ "Kung Shang," the first two notes of the Chinese pentatonic scale.

when they regulated the world. Thus, while there have been nominal changes in administration, there has never been with them any real change of principle. In the days of high antiquity, from the Yellow Emperor down to the Three Kings,⁹ there was none who did not make illustrious his virtuous instructions, *promote academies and schools*,¹⁰ exalt the charitable and the just, and establish firmly enlightenment and culture. That was the immutable law and principle for a hundred generations. By following them closely, the Yin and the Chou prospered, while the sovereign of Ch'in tampered with the laws and perished. When they spoke in the *Odes*, *Though there be no old nor experienced men there are still code and statute*,¹¹ they meant law and education. Thus, when these deteriorate, they should be restored and systematized, and put into effect after systematization. What need is there to make them over again?

(d) The Cancellarius: It does not profit one's appearance to talk of Hsi Shih's beauty, nor does discoursing on Yao's and Shun's virtues bring benefit to government. Now, O Literati, you tell us nothing of the means to achieve good administration, and talk only of the lack of achievement on the part of administrators; it is like saying nothing of the methods of cultivating land while keeping on admiring the stores and bins of the rich. For as he who desires grain should take cognizance of the seasons, so he who wishes good administration should follow the needs of the age. Thus, the Lord of Shang standing in splendid isolation, alone saw clearly the alternative between preservation and ruin, but found it impossible to cooperate with those who remained entangled with the ways of the vulgar because of their obstructing his achievements and their manifest short-sightedness. The mediocre man finds contentment in habit and usage, the foolish one sticks to his bit of learning. Thus as it took three years after the invention of boats and carts before people were taught to find satisfaction in them, so only after the Lord of Shang's laws were firmly established, the people learned to trust them. *There are some with whom one can associate in*

⁹ Cf. *Discourses*, Ch. IV, p. 26, note 2.

¹⁰ Cf. *Mencius* I, I, III, 4; the preceding phrase is reminiscent of the *Ta Hsueh*.

¹¹ *Shih Ching*, III, iii, I, 7.

*judgment.*¹² Indeed, O Literati, you can be entrusted with holding the builder's line and following already carved-out patterns, but surely not to take part in discussing aught beyond your own 'principles and methods.'

(e) The Literati: Wide in his knowledge, the superior man still *maintains reserve as to lacunae in it; a transmitter and not an originator*,¹³ though sage and perspicacious, he plans little, though wise and sagacious, he acts sparingly. Thus it is that his achievement is complete and falls not, his fame firmly established and dulls not. But the mean man, shallow in wit but large in plans, shoulders burdens too heavy for his debility and languidness, and thus finds himself forced to *give up in the middle of the road*.¹⁴ Such ones were Su Ch'in and Shang Yang: they would have none of the laws of the former kings, they disregarded the ways of the Sages, and relied solely upon themselves—and so went to their doom. *A mean man sitting in resplendent station says the Book of Changes, will fall, high as he may be.*¹⁵ Of such there never has been one who ended his life peacefully when he strove not for fullness in principle and constancy in virtue. Thus though he might at first ascend to Heaven, he will fall to Earth. When Yü regulated the flood, the people realized the benefit to be derived from his activities, and there was none who did not appreciate his accomplishment; when Shang Yang established his laws, the people knew the harm to be expected therefrom and there was none who did not fear punishment. Therefore, the prince of Hsia affirmed his achievement and achieved sovereignty, while Shang Yang perished as soon as his laws were put into effect. Like Shang Yang you may stand alone in the wisdom of your plans, but the world is not ready to bear witness to your 'lonely' discernment; while we, the Literati, though we may be unworthy to *associate with you in judgment* of the present world, will also escape the calamity of being crushed under your loads.¹⁶

¹² *Lun Yü*, IX, 29, considerably abbreviated.

¹³ *Lun Yü*, II, 18: "hears much, reserves whatever causes him doubt" (Soothill); and *ibid.*, VII, 1.

¹⁴ *Lun Yü*, VI, 10.

¹⁵ This quotation has not been located.

¹⁶ The policies of Shang Yang are discussed in *Discourses*, chap. VII, footnotes *passim*.

CHAPTER XXIV.

ASSERTIONS AND ASPERSIONS.

(a) The Cancellarius: As once said by Yen Tzū,¹ the Ritualists² are flowery in speech but short in fulfillment; meticulous as to music, but lax as to the people's needs. Prolonging mourning even at the cost of the living, lavish in funerals so as to injure livelihood³; their rites are so perplexing as to be difficult of execution and their ways so devious as to be difficult to follow. Singing the praises of days past and gone, they speak maladvvisedly of the present. Disparaging everything they see, they only treasure what they have heard; holding all men as being fundamentally crooked, they deem themselves straight as a *rule*.⁴ Thus it was that Yen I came to be executed and degraded and Ti Shan found death at the hands of the Hsiung-nu. Occupying such positions as they had and yet finding fault with the court, living in their age and yet backbiting their superiors, (it is only too natural that) they ended by being disgraced and ruining their lives. Well now, is there any one among you who would have taken up *their* burden and shared *their* tragedy?

(b) The Literati: That which keeps moral laxity in check is Good Form (*li*),⁵ and Music is the wherewithal

¹ The quotation is in a general way reminiscent of Yen Tzū *Ch'un Ch'iu*, Wai Pien VIII. The exact citation is not to be found in the present text. Note that for some of the Mihist themes Yen Tzū is quoted. For dating the Mihist school this is important as it would indicate that Yen Tzū represented the pure early Mihist school which had now become distasteful to officials (cf. coupling Ju and Mo together in previous chapter).

Re Yen Tzū cf. Forke, p. 57, par. 2. Cf. also Mo Tzū par. 25 and 39.

² 儒者 "the learned, the followers of Confucius, the orthodox, [Mencius] III. i. 5. 3: VII. ii. 26. 1." Legge, *Chi. Classics*, Vol. II, p. 522. But cf. *Discourses*, p. 38, note 9; *ibid.*, p. 66, note 1. For Les Ritualistes, see H. Maspero, *La Chine Antique*.

³ The familiar phrases of Mo-tzū 久喪, 厚葬 are here used.

⁴ 此 of the text is changed to 比, 忖 to 式. The aphorism here follows the theory of Hsün Tzū that the nature of man is evil; such evil nature can be rectified only by the practice of *i* (righteousness) and *li* (ceremonies), as performed by the *ju*. Cf. *Hsün-tzū*, chap. 17. Cf. Maspero, *op. cit.*, p. 568.

⁵ The terminology of Confucius and Hsün Tzū is here employed. For the stereotyped expressions for *li* 禮 and *i* 義 an attempt is made to use English synonyms to indicate the extensive connotations of the Chinese terms.

by which morals are improved; it is when Etiquette (*li*) is flourishing and Music is orthodox, that penalties and punishments are undeviating. Hence, just as people never suffer from floods when the dams and dikes are kept whole, so there are never revolutionary disturbances among the people whenever decorum and justice take root. We have thus never heard of a case when good government would be attained with Decorum (*li*) and Justice (*i*) laid low and dikes and dams broken through. Speaking of Good Form (*li*) Confucius said⁶: *In ceremonies in general, it is better to be simple than lavish; and in the rites of mourning, heartfelt distress is better than observance of detail.* It is clear that it was far from being the intention of those who created the rites to injure human lives and impair business; dignified carriage and self-possessed gentility were surely not intended to bring confusion into ethics and deprave morals. A well-governed state is careful as to its ceremonial; a tottering one is diligent in the application of its laws. Remember ancient Ch'in which swallowed up all the Empire by force of arms, how its disasters were aggravated by the monstrous vagaries⁷ of Li Ssü and Chao Kao. Then it was that we saw the ancient arts abolished and the time-honored ceremonies fall, all reliance put into penal laws and the Confucian and Mihist doctrines passing completely into obscurity.⁸ Blocked was the path of the scholar and gagged the mouths of men. Daily the flatterers forged ahead and those on high never heard their mistakes criticized. This was how Ch'in lost the Empire and brought to ruin its own sanctuaries!

It fell out therefore for the sages who strove to restore order first to mete out punishment for those men who by their cunning and artful words so propped up wrong that it entailed the collapse of the nation. Now, you, sir, whence come you with your store of aphorisms that spell the crack of doom for the state? You, the high ministers, occupying such a post, you give no thought to rectifying your ways, but have all your mind on aye-aye-

⁶ *Lun Yü*, III, 4 (Soothill).

⁷ As enumerated in the celebrated essay of Chia I. Cf. *Chia-tzū Hsin Shu*, chap. I, *Kuo Ch'in*.

⁸ Despite Mencius' reprobation of the doctrines of Mo Tzū, the Ju here associated them with the teachings of Confucius. Cf. notes *supra*.

ing your superiors, cringing before their slightest frown or promptly trimming your sails before their wind. 'Tis hateful to us to see such low-fawning and about-facing worthy of the meanest man which leads only to fortify those whom you serve in their faults. Therefore, though we know well these words may cost us our lives, we cannot suffer to be led into your train, O tribe of compromisers, yea, spare us not your fetters and chains! Ah, woe!

(c) The Cancellarius: One is sure to find a village where there are spreading trees; an everglade, where there are rushes: this expresses well the affinity of homogeneous things. *Virtue never dwells alone*, said Confucius, *it always has neighbors*.⁹ Thus, rises a T'ang, lo! there enters I Yin, and *exeunt* the wicked. There has yet to be a case when evil ministers kept their places below when an enlightened monarch sits on high. Now, the late Sovereign¹⁰ himself started on the way of charity and wisdom when he undertook the task of ruling all within the seas: he summoned and selected scholars of supreme ability and excellent worth so as to insure that none but the good would find employment; in pursuing and chastising evil ministers he did not spare even those closest to him. He made every effort to seek out the worthy and expel the incapable, just as Yao did promote such as Shun and Yü, and executed K'un and exiled Huan-tou. With all that you refer to us as being a "tribe of compromisers"! If this be true then should it not be indeed a case of ministers aye-aye-ing an erring ruler?

(d) The Literati: Said Kao Yao in reply to Shun: *It all depends on knowing the people, which is considered hard even by the Emperor*.¹² During the time of the Great Flood, Yao stood alone aggrieved and worried not knowing how to regulate it; but once he obtained the services of Shun and Yü, the nine provinces enjoyed

⁹ *Lun Yü*, IV, 25 [Soothill].

¹⁰ Han Wu Ti (漢武帝). For an account of the part taken by this Emperor in promoting scholarship, cf. Shryock, *The Origin and Development of The State Cult of Confucius*, chap. III, "Han Wu Ti and the Confucian Triumph."

¹¹ This doubtless refers to the revolt and subsequent death of the crown prince Chü, son of the Empress Wei. The former was charged by Chiang Ch'ung with having cast a spell on the Emperor. Chiang Ch'ung was first killed by the prince who himself was slain. Other members of the Imperial family were implicated. Cf. *Discourses*, Glossary, p. 132 *sub* Chiang Ch'ung.

¹² Based on *Shu Ching*, the Counsels of Kao-yao, I, 2.

peace. Therefore, even if there is an enlightened Monarch like Yao, his pure virtue will not prevail unless there are assisting hands like Shun's and Yü's. The *Spring and Autumn* criticized the fact that there were rulers, but no ministers. During the time of the late Emperor, there was no sufficient number of good ministers and hence the evil ones got their chance. When Yao got Shun and Yü, K'un was killed and Huan-tou was executed; when Chao Chien-tzū got Shu Hsiang, Shêng Ch'ing-chien was dismissed.¹³ The case is well stated in the proverb: *Until one sees the virtuous, one does not recognize a traitorous minister*, or in the words of the *Odes*: *When I do not see the virtuous, my heart is full of worry. When I have seen the virtuous, my heart settles down.*¹⁴

(e) The Cancellarius: Yao employed K'un and Huan Tou, but exiled one and executed the other when he got Shun and Yü. He exiled or executed them because of their guilt, and hence in the Empire all yielded to him for he had punished its evil ones. The ruler of men looks for service among the common people. Yen I was a police constable at Chi Nan. The late Emperor promoted him and bestowed on him a high position, until he reached the rank of Superior Minister. Ti Shan rose from the plain-clothed to the post of Councillor to the house of Han. They both occupied the position of Shun and Yü and held the central power of the Empire. They were unable, moreover, to achieve anything conducive to good government but on the contrary were found guilty of criticizing the Emperor. Hence the punishment inflicted on Huan Tou was imposed on them and even more, they suffered the extreme penalty of the law. The worthy receive their reward while the inferior suffer their punishment. This is certainly just. Why wonder then, O Literati?

(f) The Literati: Parties to a discussion should support each other with reason and admonish each other following logic; in striving after the good not seek victory, and in yielding to reason, not feel shame at being worsted. If we try to confound each other with

¹³ Shu Hsiang was *not* a contemporary of Chao Chien-tzū. Cf. *Discourses*, Glossary of Names.

¹⁴ *Shih Ching*, II, i, VIII, 5. But see Legge, *Chi. Classics*, Vol. IV, part II, p. 264, for a different rendering.

falsehood, and confuse each other by rhetoric, each side priding itself on having the last word, each striving after victory at any cost, this would be destroying all the value of the debate. Now, Su Ch'in and Chang I completely dazzled and befuddled the feudal lords, but upset *The Myriad Chariots*¹⁵ and caused rulers of men to lose their grasp: they were certainly eloquent, but theirs was the path to anarchy. The Superior Man decried the impossibility to serve one's prince along with servile fellows, for he feared that should they obtain a hearing there would *be no length to which they would not go*.¹⁶ Now, sir, you do not want to heed the dictates of Right and Reason so that you may fittingly assist the minister and the Chancellor, but only follow and meekly obey your masters. You love to make extemporaneous speeches and never weigh their consequences. If we be judges of your qualifications as a subordinate officer, it would seem meet to confer upon you the highest penalty. Keep your peace, sir, for the time being.

(g) The Cancellarius¹⁷: Scholars living in this world, so have I heard, should have enough clothes to cover their bodies and enough food to be able to supply their parents. At home, they should possess sufficient means to take care of one another; abroad, they should depend on no one. One is in a position to undertake the responsibilities of a family only after one has proved to be able to care for himself; is in a position to take up office only when his family is well managed. Hence he who feeds on coarse grain is not fit to talk of filial piety, and he whose wife and children are hungering and cold is unfit to talk of compassion, while he who has established no permanent business is not fit to discuss real problems. These three handicaps, which you, living in this world and maintaining this bodily existence, seem to share, appear to me amply sufficient to make *you* hold your peace.

¹⁵ 萬乘 "the sovereign's domain = 1,000 *li* square, produced 10,000 war chariots." This was the ideal of the early Chou. Here doubtless in the Chan Kuo period, it represents a feudal state of the first rank.

¹⁶ Paraphrase of *Lun Yü*, XVII, 15.

¹⁷ 丞相史曰蓋聞士之居世也 . . . Chang's ed. puts this whole paragraph at the beginning of the next (XXVth) chapter.

CHAPTER XXV.

FILIAL PIETY AND FILIAL SUPPORT.

(a) The Literati: He who supports his parents best does not do so necessarily with fat viands, and he who clothes his parents best does not do so necessarily with rich embroideries. The consummation of filial piety lies in dedicating everything one has to the service of his parents: thus the commonest man with his sheer labor and industry may still have ample means to fulfill the rites, and the poorest man whose food is pulse and water his only drink can still adequately express his reverence. *The filial piety of the present day, said Confucius, merely means to feed one's parents.....but without reverence wherein lies the difference?*¹ The highest filial piety consists, therefore, in nourishing one's parents' ambition, next comes nourishing their passing whims, and then only nourishing their bodies.² The value of filial piety lies in the form, not in being bent upon mere providing. If everything is in accordance with form and hearts are in harmony, one can be counted as filial even though provisions are not complete. *The eastern neighbor slaughtering a cow, says the Book of Changes, is not the equal of the western neighbor performing the sacrifice.*³ Thus though rich and prominent one may be, if he is without propriety he is not the equal of one who is filial and brotherly, though poor and humble. Within the inner apartments, fulfill filial piety to the end; without them, fulfill brotherly love; in journeying with friends, fulfill trust. These three things are the consummation of *Hsiao* 孝. The founding of a home or a patrimony does not mean mere accumulation of wealth; discharging one's filial duties in serving one's parents does not mean merely supplying them with fresh foods. All depends, on the other hand, on following their smile or frown, conforming to their wishes and fulfilling all the rules of propriety and justice.

(b) The Cancellarius: *At the age of eighty a man is called a t'ieh, at the age of seventy he is a mao. A*

¹ *Lun Yü*, II, 7 (slightly abbreviated).

² *Mencius*, IV, 1, xix, discusses the correct manner of serving parents.

³ *I Ching*, hexagram 63.

*septuagenarian*⁴ does not feel full without meat nor warm without silk. Sweet and rare food for their palates, a pious son would say therefore, *clothes warm and light for their bodies!*⁵ Tsêng Tzū must have had wine and meat to support Tsêng Hsi.⁶ Without his cap properly adjusted Kung-hsi Ch'ih himself would be unable to discharge properly his duty of sustaining his parents, but without rich and savory fare, be he Tsêng Tzū or Min Tzū, one cannot fulfill to the end this duty. Form is not an empty cloak: there must be substance before it is made into the father-son relationship. Rather be superfluous in provision and deficient in etiquette than abundant in etiquette and deficient in provision. I cannot see any value, however perfect be the execution of rites, in meticulously washing the cup in order to fill it with mere water, and ascend and descend steps ceremoniously only to present coarse and unhulled rice.

(c) The Literati: Not without wines and meat was the Chou Emperor Hsiang's mother; her food and clothes were certainly incomparable to those of a Tsêng Hsi. Yet that Emperor earned the notorious reputation of being unfilial, for he was unable to serve his mother properly. The Superior Man puts value on the form of performing filial duty, but the mean man is only bent on provisions. Now if you beckon to one with a 'Hi, come hither' and throw him the food, be he a mere beggar, he would not take it.⁷ Though the food be delicious, the Superior Man⁸ would not partake of it if the rules of propriety are disregarded: thus no guest would take part in the sacrifice, if the host neglects to prepare the offering personally. This proves that Form is the thing that counts, the food offering is of slight consequence.

(d) The Cancellarius: Among filial sons there are no greater than those who put to the disposal of their parents the entire Empire or a whole state; next come those who sustain their parents with their salary; then those who nourish them by the fruit of their labor.

⁴ 八十曰耄,七十曰耄. According to the *Shuo Wen* (I-II cent. A.D.) the *mao* is a *nonagenarian*. The *Li Chi*, 曲禮 *ch'ü li* 7, 27, makes the *mao* a man from 80 to 90 years of age [Legge, *Sacred Books*, Vol. XXVII, p. 66].

⁵ A quotation of unknown provenience. The first quotation of 甘羹 is ascribed to the *Shih Chi* in the *K'ang Hsi Tzū Tien*.

⁶ *Mencius*, IV, 1, xix.

⁷ Cf. *Mencius*, VI, i, X, 6, 乞人不屑也

⁸ Cf. *Lun Yü*, X, 8, the famous chapter descriptive of Confucius' idiosyncracies.

Thus, king, duke and ruler of men stand highest in the list; next to them, ministers and officials. Now let us examine how it is done in one or another family. There are worthy sons among those on the road to power over this world who supply their elders with high halls and spacious chambers, comfortable carriages and big horses, light and warm clothing, and sweet and tasty food. There are others who clothe them in coarse stuff and leather caps, leave them to dwell in beggar's alleys, provide them for the day, but not for the morrow, with the coarsest grains and vegetables for food, with a chance to see meat but on the fall and winter sacrifices.⁹ They upset their aged parents' stomachs, stuffing them with salads, as if they were truck gardens. Now, when a son feeds his parents with the coarse foods that a beggar would not take, though he wished to do it with all ceremony, there would be no virtue whatever therein.

(e) The Literati: He who steals his position possessing no ability to occupy it and he who accepts salary having no achievement to his credit, though he possess wealth and honor, can only offer to his parents the aliments of a Chih or a Ch'iao. Though his high terraces might command a distant view and his dinner table might be laid out to cover one hundred square feet, he still cannot be termed filial. One's aged parents' stomachs are not bags for the loot of thieves, why then always try to fill them with things obtained through disregard of principle? Now if you take improperly-won things and positions, calamity will follow wherever enters ill-gotten gain. The very lives of your parents are liable to be engulfed in your calamities, how could they hope then to eat meat at the fall and winter sacrifice? Tsêng Shên and Min Tzu had the reputation of filial sons though they never had aliments of ministers or chancellors, while Emperor Hsiang of Chou with all the wealth of the Empire at his disposal became notorious for being unable to serve properly his parents. Therefore, it is not filial piety to offer rich nourishment with scant ceremony and though one may thus deplete all his stores in order

⁹ 臘臘 "winter sacrifices." This passage is cited in the *K'ang Hsi Tzu Tien*, explaining *lou* as the sacrifice of the 8th month. It is apparently not known otherwise. The *la* is the Han dynasty name of the sacrifice of the last month of the year, giving the common name to this month. For the *la* sacrifice under its earlier name *cha* 蜡 cf. Legge, *Sacred Books*, Vol. XXVII; Li Ki, Books I-IX, p. 431.

to feed his parents, it still will not be filial piety.

(f) The Cancellarius:¹⁰ Those that stand highest in the performance of filial duty wait upon their parents' countenance; next come those who give them security; then those who are careful to preserve their lives.¹¹ Formerly Ch'ên Yü turned against the Han and was beheaded on the banks of the Chih and Wu Pei by his seditious activities caused the extermination of all his family. More recently, Chu-fu Yen was executed for non-conformity and Lü Pu-shu met death and disgrace through playing too freely with his tongue. All these men were so careless in their conduct that the penalties they suffered extended to their innocent parents. It can be easily seen from their example that empty form is of no profit to one. As culture and substance go hand in hand, so etiquette and nourishment should both be dispensed at the same time, only then can one be termed filial. Filial piety lies in material things, not in meritorious appearance. Preservation of life depends on circumspection, not in running wild with words.

(g) The Literati: He is the most unfilial of all who speaks without sincerity, makes promises but does not keep them, shows no courage in the face of difficulties, and no loyalty in serving his prince. Said Mencius: *The officers of to-day, the ministers of to-day are all criminals*¹² for they all conformed to the prince's whims and connived at his evil acts. Now, you sir, are one devoid of loyalty and faith, bringing confusion into the administration with your artful speeches and seeking to obtain favor with your proposals of a sycophant. Indeed, such as you are not to be tolerated in this world. *Unwavering in holding to the unity of principle is the scholar, says the Spring and Autumn, unmindful of anything outside his loyalty to the Right.*¹³ He should concentrate all his efforts on nothing but the performance of his official duties. Thus, it is a crime to speak high, while

¹⁰ 史 has been supplied following Chang's edition. The (Lord) Chancellor does not appear as active participant in the debate until Ch. XXIX.

¹¹ "Now filial piety is the root of (all) virtue, and (the stem) out of which grows (all moral) teaching. . . . Our bodies—to every hair and bit of skin—are received by us from our parents, and we must not presume to injure or wound them:—this is the beginning of filial piety." *Hsiao Ching*, I [Legge, *Sacred Books*, Vol. III, p. 466].

¹² Paraphrase of Mencius, VI, ii, 7.

¹³ A quotation of which the location cannot be found.

one's position is lowly, and it is impudence to talk out of turn. The Imperial edict directed the high ministers to take part in this debate and you take time for waging your empty verbal battles.

CHAPTER XXVI.

CUTTING EXCHANGES.

(a) The Cancellarius: Would a heaped-up tumulus in seeking to reach a stately height reject an extra cubit of earth¹; would a superior man in seeking to widen his reputation disregard the words of an humble faggot-carrier? For he is widely versed who has observed much, and he is wise who much has retained; clogged the mind of him who is adverse to censure and friendless he who puts trust solely in himself. Hence he will never be remiss who seeks counsel even unto the lowest of the lowest, and undulled in his achievements he who seeks suggestions even among the commons as says the *Book of Odes: Go thou to the humble shepherd and woodcutter*.² Now since plain-clothed people are all given freedom to vent their opinions, how much the more should not I, a secretary to my lords, the high ministers, also be allowed to do so? It is true that the *Spring and Autumn* does not record the deeds of mere scholars, yet it notes the fact that a certain Huan acted as steward.³ *Although they do not engage me in office*, said Confucius, *yet*

¹ 山林不讓椒桂 . . . According to Chang read 陵 for 林 and 桂 for 椒 as making better sense. 椒 *chiao* to be taken in the comparatively rare sense of "peak of a hill," 桂 *kuei* as half a pace. Cf. Li Ssü, *On the Employment of Foreigners*: 泰山不讓土壤故能成其大. 河海不擇細流故能就其深 "Not a single clod was added to T'ai-shan in vain; hence the huge mountain we now behold. The merest streamlet is received into the bosom of Ocean; hence the Ocean's unfathomable expanse." Giles, *Gems* (Prose), p. 53.

² Cf. *Shih Ching*, III, ii, X, 3.

³ Cf. *Ch'un Ch'iu*, Yin I: 秋七月天王使宰咺來歸惠公仲子之賵 "En automne, au septième mois de l'année, Hïuen, ministre et envoyé du souverain établi par le ciel (l'empereur 平王 *P'ing ouang*) vint à Lou offrir des voitures et d'autres présents pour les funérailles de Houei Koung et de sa femme la princesse Tchoung tseu" [Couvreur].

*I should have been consulted about them.*⁴ However incapable is my humble self, I, too, have inclined my ears to hear instructions, holding up my skirts, have submitted to a teacher's directions and have joined a school to learn how one should walk in the superior man's path. If what you, Literati, have said is right, then what harm can the words of my humble self do? If what you said is wrong, who could refrain to say it is wrong, though he be an insignificant cancellarius?

(b) The Literati: Assisting men in righteousness is called loyalty, but misleading people into evil is treachery. He who grieves at his master's faults and approaches him with good advice, is a loyal minister to his prince and a true vassal of his lord. *Let a lord have three blunt vassals*, said Confucius, *and that lord will never lose his patrimony though he be devoid of principle.*⁵ But you, sir, holding now the rank of a steward, you have a heart where no feeling of loyalty or right is present. It is beyond your power to straighten out the crooked, or rectify the evil. You follow the current to safeguard yourself, and bow to the wind to please your superiors, blindly accepting what your superiors declare and deviously following them in what they practice, like a shadow pursuing its body and an echo repeating a sound, never being able to distinguish right from wrong. You have donned the Confucian dress, capped yourself with the Confucian cap but you will never be able to follow in the Confucian path. You are no true 'Confucian!' Not unlike a painted clay dragon with head and eyes complete in every detail, but which is only a mock dragon. The *shepherd's purse* looks like a vegetable, but is quite different in taste; jade and stone look similar but differ in kind. You are not a Confucian who, after Master K'ung, clings to the Classics and holds fast to principle, you are of those Confucianists lowly about facing and fawning upon the ministers; you are none of our kind. Said Confucius when Jan Yu became steward to Chi Shih and kept on still increasing his income: *You may beat the drum my sons and attack him.*⁶ We do not hold, therefore, a helper of Chieh for wise, nor Chieh's tax-gatherer for altruistic.

Silenced, the Cancellarius made no reply.

⁴ *Lun Yü*, XIII, 14. Omit 侯 which apparently crept in under the influence of 諸 [Soothill].

⁵ *Hsiao Ching*, ch. XV.

⁶ *Lun Yü*, XI, 16 (Soothill).

CHAPTER XXVII.

SHRILL POLEMICS.

(a) The Lord Grand Secretary: It is because of his solicitude for the myriads of his subjects and the deep concern over the continuing unrest on the Northern frontier that the Enlightened Monarch, the molder of his age, sent out envoys to seek out worthies and literati of high grade and to make diligent inquiries after scholars of high principle.¹ His wish, meseems, was that diverse proposals and various plans be submitted to him so that he might with unprejudiced mind lend an indulgent ear to the most feasible. But there is no one among you doctors, who has been found able to advance a plan out-of-the-ordinary or a far-reaching scheme respecting the questions of the Hsiung-nu and the pacification of the borderland. Clinging² to your rotting bamboo slips and holding fast to your empty words, you never want to recognize the necessity of coming to terms or the imperative need of changing with the time. You hold to no firm basis in your discussions, reminding one of persons scratching their backs when their knees are a-itching. Unbearable is the din of brawls you raise by your railings at the Portals of the Commonweal. As if your orchestrated vociferation will ever bring practical result! Do you wish us to believe that *this* is what the Enlightened Monarch desired to hear?

(b) The Literati: All of us in submitting respectfully our proposals have reached one conclusion though following different channels.³ Our proposals all point to the necessity of re-establishing Form and Justice on the pinnacle by relegating monetary gain, of reviving the principles of old so as to rectify the mistakes of the present day. There is not a single one of them which does not spell a universal peace. We realize, of course, that all of these proposals cannot be actually put into practice, yet it would seem to us that at least some could be effectuated indeed. On the other hand, you, having control of affairs, prefer to remain in the darkness in the face of the illustrious practices of conformity and

¹ Cf. *Discourses*, chap. I, p. 1, note 4.

² For 明 read 抱 following the *I-lin* 意林. On this work see P. Pelliot, *T'oung Pao*, Vol. XIX.

³ 殊路同歸 cf. *I Ching* 繫辭下. 同歸而殊塗.

get your only cue from mercenary preoccupations; it is through your obstructionism, censoriousness, your manoeuvring and subterfuges that no decision has been reached even until now. It is not that the Confucianists can never achieve *practical* results, but that you, high ministers of state, are too engrossed in achieving *practical profits*.⁴

(c) The Lord Grand Secretary: Confounders of truth you are, O Literati, with your flinty faces and mushy hearts, corrupt to the core with your pompous appearance and pliant insides! You plagiarize Chou Kung in your dress with all these well-cuffed robes and loose belts, plagiarize Chung Ni in your appearance with all these low-crooked courtesies and mincing steps,⁵ plagiarize Shang and Ts'ê in your oratory with all this crooning and sententiousness. Discussing politics—you pasquinade, O talents superior to Kuan (Chung) and Yen (Ying)! belittling ministers and Chancellor in your hearts, determined to slight the *Myriad Chariots*. Should we intrust you with practical problems of administration you will bring nothing but confusion worse confounded and complete misgovernment. Indeed recommending such men on the strength of their words is similar to appraising a horse by its coat only. I have demonstrated here sufficiently whereby most of you do not deserve the recommendation you have received. The edict quotes: 'Greatly gratified by the scholars of Our domain, We intend to search out diligently such of them who by their great worth, literary knowledge and wide experience can quickly be given official posts'.⁷ But—fine talkers are not necessarily possessors of moral excellence. Preposterous? *To talk is easy, 'tis difficult to act*.⁸ We should prefer to take cognizance of the *dumb* ox and discard the *squeaking* cart, for the former is to be prized for accomplishing much while talking little. Just as the great bell of Wu by wagging its own tongue smashed

⁴ Chang's ed. has 利 following 成. It seems to be required by parallelism and by the occurrence of a similar expression in the Ta-fu's reply 非有司欲成利 [14b].

⁵ 鞠躬蹶蹶 cf. *Lun Yü* X, 2, 4.

⁶ Apparently Tzū Hsia [卜] 商 and Tzū Kung [端木] 賜.

⁷ Lu suggests 超 for 趙. 趙 is also the reading of Chang's edition. This passage is not found in the edicts of the *Ch'ien Han Shu*, referred to in *Discourses*, chap. I, p. 1, note 4.

⁸ 言之易而行之難 an aphorism frequently repeated by the late Dr. Sun Yat Sen.

itself, so Chu-fu Yen by wagging his caused his own death. Master Chu-fu's owl screeches proved of no avail against impending death just as the nightingale's night songs do not prevail against the dawn's first light. 'Tis not that we public officials are too engrossed in seeking profit, but you rather are too well manacled to the yoke of obsolete practices which drags you into idle talk.

(d) The Literati: T'ang and Wu (Wang) were men who could talk as well as act, but you bureaucrats can but talk, not act. If we have purloined the dress of Chou Kung, you have stolen his position; if we are manacled to the yoke of obsolete practices, you are fettered to that of pelf and profit; if Chu-fu Yen may have caused his own death by wagging his tongue, you have penned yourselves in by wagging after profit. Now we hold that none but Tsao Fu can so bring out the latent talent of a noble steed that it will run for a myriad *li*; if it were not for Shun who made him his minister, Yü would never have seen employment though in wisdom he was one in a myriad. Thus when a Chi Huan-tzū sits in control of the administration such as Hui of Liu-hsia suddenly vanish from sight,⁹ but when a Confucius is Minister of Justice, then, perversely enough, they blaze out again. The power of selecting a noble steed rests with a Po Lo, that it rises to the height of its possibilities depends on a Tsao Fu. Let a Tsao Fu take the reins and sorry jade or fine horse, all can be given the freedom of the roads. In the age of a Chou Kung all scholars, be they worthy or incapable, will be admitted to take part in the discussion on the best form of government. It is the best among drivers who will be found expert in teamstering horses, and the worthiest among the ministers who will be found expert in making use of the scholars. Now-a-days they select men of unusual ability but let benighted lackeys drive them. It is like yoking a noble steed to a salt-wain and belaboring it, demanding speed. *This* demonstrates well enough how worthies and Literati are found to be mostly unworthy for recommendation.

(e) The Lord Grand Secretary: Faugh! You are, my doctors, ne'er-do-wells¹⁰ devoid of principle, never

⁹ Huan-tzū and Liu-hsia Hui were not contemporaries. Can the original saying be that in Huan-tzū's time there were no such men as Liu-hsia Hui?

¹⁰ 關 韋 t'o n'i. Cf. *Discourses*, p. 117, "Low, mean, base." The *K'ang Hsi Tzū T'ien* quotes the YTL in explanation of this term.

practicing what you preach, the spirit of the letter in you never second each other. A plague since days of old have you been, *like the wall-piercing burglars!*¹¹ Rightly indeed was Confucius booted out by the Prince of Lu, and found of no use by his age! How so? Well, they were always malaprop with their doltish reactions to their age, too much preoccupied with the flock of budding ideas in their skulls. It fell to the king of Ch'in to do away by fire with their lore instead of practicing it, and burying their kind in Wei Chung instead of finding employment for them. Ha! he gave them, indeed, no opportunity to set their tongues adrumming in their mouths and to arch their eyebrows premeditating their pro and contra disquisitions on affairs of national scope.¹²

CHAPTER XXVIII.

ON NATIONAL ILLS.

(a) The Literati: No fault it is of the scholars that the worthiest among them find no employment in this state, but rather a shame to the authorities. A great sage was Confucius, but none of the feudal lords saw fit to use him. When, however, he had occupied a comparatively insignificant position in Lu but for three months,¹ he needed no orders to have things carried out and no prohibitions to stop malpractices. His beneficial influence was like unto the downpour of the seasonal rain causing the efflorescence of all things. How much more could he have done had he occupied an exalted position at the central court of the Empire and had been able to diffuse abroad the sonance of a sage Emperor's virtue and the balsam of his instructions? But you, Lord High Minister, for more than ten years you have been occupying an eminent position holding the reins of government over the Empire²; yet you never have diffused any achievement or moral excellence over the world, but have been studiously belaboring the people. While the people are impoverished and in dire distress

¹¹ Cf. *Lun Yü*, XVII, 12.

¹² All this paragraph is joined to the next chapter in Chang Chih-hsiang's edition.

¹ The *Shih Lei Fu* reads: 當居小位相魯三月

² For the biographical sources relating to Sang Hung-yang, "Lord High Minister," cf. *Discourses*, chap. XVII, p. 106, note 1.

your own family has amassed a fortune estimated by tens of thousands of gold. Of such conduct was the Superior Man ashamed and such ones are criticized in the poem 'They are felling the hickories.'³ In former days when Shang Yang was Chancellor of Ch'in he relegated etiquette and courtesy to the encouragement of selfishness and greed, honored 'head hunting'⁴ [by his soldiers] and concentrated on conquest and aggression. He made no effort to propagate virtue among the people, but imposed severe laws and statutes on the country so that morals become more corrupt daily and the people increasingly complained. So King Hui was forced to boil and embrine his body in order to placate the Empire. At that time *he* also had no opportunity left to make *his* disquisitions on national affairs. Now you, our present authorities, resent the fact that the Confucianists, poor and insignificant, talk too much, but we⁵ also have our worries occasioned by the many annoyances you create with your wealth and undue pre-eminence.

Woefully⁶ the Lord Grand Secretary looked at the Literati and said nothing.

(b) The Cancellarius⁷: Now, now! Why can you not in discussing the administrative affairs of the nation and in discoursing on the policy of the authorities, expostulate with reason point by point, why wax vehement to such an extent? The Lord Grand Secretary considers it difficult to abolish the salt and iron monopoly not for the sake of his private fortune but out of consideration for the national expenditure and the needs of the

³ Poem in *Shih Ching* 國風, 魏 [Legge, *Chi. Classics*, Vol. IV, pt. I, Bk. IX, Ode VI, where *t'an* 檀 is translated as "sandal trees," as by Bretschneider. The sandal tree is tropical and hence could not be found in North China. Cf. *loc. cit.*, note, p. 170, also p. 127 where Legge indicates that he does not mean the sandal tree of commerce.]

⁴ Cf. J. J. L. Duyvendak, *The Book of Lord Shang. A Classic of the Chinese School of Law* (London, 1928). See also *Discourses*, chap. VII and footnotes *passim*.

⁵ . . . 而多言亦憂執. . . Chang's ed. inserts the character 儒 between 言 and 亦.

⁶ Cf. the *Erh Ya* 爾雅 for the extensive use of binoms in the text here. Here again the author utilizes a particular work (? *Erh Ya*) in compiling this chapter.

⁷ Mr. Chun-Ming Chang, in CSPSR, XVIII, I, p. 5, has his own excellent translation of this passage. He makes the Yü Shih Ta-fu the "Grand Censor" rather than "Lord Grand Secretary" as in *Discourses*, though it is doubtful if the Censorate had yet been established.

borderland. You also, Doctors, in contending reprovably against these state monopolies, are not working for yourselves, but in earnest wish to return to the practices of old and to entrench firmly altruism and justice. Both sides to this debate have their preferences but as circumstances change with the changing time, how could it be possible to stick fast to the ancient methods and deny the validity of modern ways? Furthermore, according to the *Hsiao Ya*, in criticising others, one must offer something constructive in exchange. If you, doctors, could devise however, means to give peace to the country or to subdue the distant lands, so that there would be no calamity from raids and attacks at the frontier then *all* the dues and taxes would be abolished for your sake, to say nothing of the salt and iron monopoly and the *equable marketing system*. According to your most esteemed precepts, a Confucian should treasure a retiring and complaisant disposition and treat all people in the proper way. Now in your vigorous debates and accusations, you have shown not the eloquence of Ch'ih and Ts'ê but demonstrated only your crude and violent manners, unheard of here. If the Lord Grand Secretary has gone too far, you doctors have also done so. It is only just that you should apologize to the Lord Grand Secretary.

(c) The Worthies and the Literati all arose from their mats and said: Benighted provincials that we are, who have seldom crossed the precincts of this great court, we realize that our wild and uncouth speeches may indeed find no favor here even unto offending the authorities. Yet, so it seems to us, as a medicinal tonic though bitter to the palate still is of great benefit to the patient, so words of loyalty, though offensive to the ear may also be found beneficial to mend one's morals. A great blessing is to be able to hear straightforward denial, it cheapens one to hear nothing but adulatory praise. As swift winds are raging through the forest so flattering words encompass the rich and powerful. After hearing daily at this court controlling myriads of *li* of territory nothing but servile aye-aye's you hear now the straightforward nay-nay's of honest scholars. 'Tis indeed a great opportunity for you, Lord High Minister, to receive a well-needed physic and the benefit of stone and needle.⁸

⁸ The surgical simile is developed previously in *Discourses*, chap. XIV, esp. p. 88.

(d) The Lord Grand Secretary's countenance relaxed and with relief he turned his back⁹ to the Literati and said addressing the Worthies: Difficult indeed it is to debate with men who, having seen little, offer arguments as devious as the crooked lanes in which they live. These Literati maintain a death grip upon vaporious talk; there is no hope they will ever change their views. We have already examined the precepts which held good for antiquity, but in viewing the problems of the modern world, we must rely on what our eyes have seen and what our ears have heard. With the changing generations, situations change. At the time of Emperors Wên and Ching and at the beginning of the Chien Yüan period, the people were simple and all followed the fundamental occupation [agriculture], while the officers were honest and self-esteeming. With abundance and superfluity everywhere, the population swelled and families became rich. Now, without any change in the administration or in education, why is it that society is becoming increasingly frivolous and morals are on the decline? The officers have little sense of honesty, the people, little sense of shame. In spite of the punishments imposed on the wicked, evil-doings do not cease. As it is currently said, the provincial Confucianists are inferior to the metropolitan scholars. The Literati, all coming from Shantung, seldom participate in important discussions. You, my lords, have been at the capital long enough to desire that administrative problems be intelligently analyzed and the pro and con intelligently discussed. It is but natural.

(e) The Worthies: The navel of the world is Shantung, the battleground of distinguished scholars! When Emperor Kao [Tsu] took his dragon flight and soared up like a phoenix betwixt Sung and Ch'u, who but the youth of Shantung, men like Hsiao, Ts'o, Fan, Li, Têng and Kuan came to his assistance? Though it was indeed an age different from antiquity yet in it were found men that could be compared with none but Hung Yao and T'ai T'ien. From among the western Ch'iang came Yü, Wên was born among the I of the North, but in sagely virtue they towered above the world; in ability equal to a myriad men, they took upon their shoulders responsibili-

⁹ 謂 should be inserted between 也 and 賢. 面 *mien* should be taken in the unusual sense of "to turn the back on." Wang Hsien-ch'ien discusses the term at length in his note. Mr. Chun-Ming Chang translates "the Grand Censor's face broadened a little and looked at the Literati with uneasiness."

ties no mortal could support. There are men, on the other hand, who come and go through the metropolis' teeming squares no one knows how many times every morn, yet finish their days as nothing more than stable boys. We humbly grant that not being born or raised in the capital, shaggy in talent and scant of wit, we are not qualified to discuss affairs of great importance, but we would like yet to report the tales told by the elders of our village communities. It is not so long ago, it seems, that the common people were clad in warm and comfortable clothes with no ostentatiousness and were perfectly satisfied in making use of crude and simple materials and instruments. These clothes sufficed to cover their bodies; these implements, to facilitate their work. A nag sufficed to serve their steps, a wagon to transport them. They had enough wine to make their meetings merry, but none for dissipation; sufficient music to set their hearts aright, but none for revelry. One heard of no wild banquetting in the home, of no pleasure-seeking excursions abroad. The itinerant went with their packs and bales; the sedentary hoed and weeded. Sparing in their needs, they abounded in wealth, cultivating the fundamental, the people were prosperous. Paying the last honors to their dead, they were sorrowful, never with pomp; in nourishing their living, meet, never extravagant. High officials were upright and not extortionate, those in authority tolerant, never harsh, so that the *black-haired* people found peace within themselves and all the officers security in their positions. Such was the state of affairs at the beginning of the Chien Yüan era when culture was exalted, moral excellence cultivated and the Empire was enjoying a well earned peace. Then, evil ministers one after another set their wily arts to work at the destruction of perfect government, monopolizing mountains and seas abroad and promoting various profiteering schemes at the court. Yang K'o [-shêng] instituted the 'Income Reports,' Chiang Ch'ung regulated dress, the ta-fu Chang amended laws, and Tu Chou took charge of prisons. There were rigidly enforced regulations concerning penalties and redemptions drawn in minute detail and in incalculable numbers. The gangs of Hsia Lan carried out arbitrary arrests and Wan Wên-shu's posses, summary executions. Murderous officers-of-the-law sprang up in great number to the utter dismay and confusion of honest people. At that time no one among the populace felt his head secure on his

neck and even among the rich and influential none could guarantee the safety of his family. Then the sage Emperor awakened to the realization of what was going on! Thereupon Ch'iang and his crowd suffered the extreme penalty and the murderous brigands were executed in order to pare off the resentment of those condemned to death and stop the odium of the Empire. Since then, everywhere among the settled people peace has been restored, yet the damage that had been done would take several generations to be repaired and the wounds and sores of the nations are not yet healed to the present day. Thus, there are still officials who practice the same methods of the murderous brigands and powerful stewards with hearts of reavenous despoilers. High ministers, having exclusive control of great power, smash and break as they see fit, strong rascals form cliques and abuse everyone, the rich and prominent indulge in luxury and extravagance while the poor and humble take to rapine and murder.

Women's handiwork, so hard in making, is easily destroyed, carts and utensils, so difficult to complete, are easily broken. A cart lasts less than two years, implements are broken before the expiration of a twelvemonth. But a cart costs one thousand weights of grain, a suit of clothes, ten bushels. The common people use fancy goblets, painted tables, tabourets and mats, and well seamed and doubled garments. The serving wenches sport colored silk dresses and satin sandals, the plebeian has hulled rice and meat on his fare. Fashions in every village, factions in every association, spirited races on country highways and football games in beggars' alleys. Too few are those who grasp the plough and clutch the shuttle and personally engage in farming and weaving and too numerous those who squeeze their waists and studiously paint their faces with white powder and black pencil. Paupers play the part of opulence and the destitute boast extravagantly, with gay coats without lining, silk breeches over hempcloth underwear, elaborate funeral cortèges for the dead, while the living are not properly fed, patrimonies are wasted to provide sumptuous funerals, dowries by the cartloads for marrying daughters. The rich strive to surpass one another, the poor, to catch up with the rich, the former depleting their substance, the latter weighing (borrowed) goods. This is why the people become desperate and the need increases year by year. Poor, they have little shame;

destitute, they have scarcely any honesty: this is the explanation to corruption not diminishing in spite of the punishment of wrong doers and the execution of the wicked. Thus it is that these manifestations of terrific nervousness in the country produce the ills of insufficiency [described] before.¹⁰

¹⁰ The foregoing paragraphs are of notable value as graphically describing in few words society in the early Han Empire.

THE TRANSLATION OF THE FRAGMENTS OF THE NESTORIAN WRITINGS IN CHINA

By P. Y. SAEKI

[This is the third and last instalment of Professor Saeki's translations into English of the Nestorian texts first copied by him in 1918. The title of the present text is *Shih-tsun-pu-shih-lun* (世尊布施論). The preceding translations with editorial notes appear in the *Journal*, Vol. LXIII—1932 and Vol. LXIV—1933.—Editor.]

THE TEXT No. III.

The Lord of the Universe's Discourse on Alms-giving.
(Lit. The Lokadjyechth's Discourse on "Dana", or
"Exhibition of Charity.")

(Part III)

(1) The Lord of the Universe (lit. "one who is honoured by the Universe" or "the Lord of the Universe") thus spoke:

(2) If any one gives alms, he should not give it to man. But, first of all, he must give it to the Almighty Lord of the Universe and only then shall he give his alms.

(3) Let not your *right* hand know what your *left* hand giveth.

(4) When you worship (God) you should not allow it to be seen or to be heard by others.

(5) You must wait for the manifestation of the One God Himself, and only then you can worship Him.

(6) When you pray, you should not be selfish and wordy (in your prayer).

(7) When you pray, you must, first of all, forgive other men's transgressions against you.

(8) And then, if you turn toward God and pray for the forgiveness of sins you have yourself committed, you may also be forgiven.

(9) If you forgive those that trespass against you, only then will the One (Person of the Godhead) also forgive you.

(10) By your own forgiveness of others you will know that your sins are forgiven.

(11) For this One (Person of the Godhead) is no other than the Ko-nu Ishu (i.e., the Chinese for the Syriac "Quadoshah I-shu," meaning "Holy Jesus".)

(12) If you have treasures, you ought not to leave them alone upon the earth, where sometimes they may be destroyed and plundered, whilst at other times they may be stolen and carried away by thieves and robbers.

(13) You ought to lay your treasures high up in Heaven, where they will neither be destroyed nor lost.

(14) When we consider man, we find that there are two lives, which are one to all mankind.

(15) One is for the Lord of Heaven and the other is for the treasure.

(16) If you have no treasure, you will lack both food and raiment, but trouble not your heart too much therefor.

(17) For instance, your (conditions) may be found to be like a newly born babe attacked by cruel bandits, and you would have nothing whatever left for your food and raiment, but (you should not trouble yourself.)

(18) I say unto you: Seek ye the one thing only. Come and ask the one God, and all your sins and shortcomings will be forgiven.

(19) If you ask Him for raiment, you shall be clothed according to your own wish.

(20) Therefore, do not trouble yourself too much about such things.

(21) The One (Person of the Godhead) *knows* that you must have all these things.

(22) Let any of the disciples of the One (Person of the Godhead) approach the Lord of Heaven in prayer, and their prayer will be answered freely and spontaneously.

(23) Whatever food or raiment you are in need of all belong to the One God's own will.

(24) Man at his birth is invested with both "an upper clothing of Soul" and another "upper clothing of the five attributes."

(25) At one time, the One (Person of the Godhead) gives food and drink, whilst at another, raiment.

(26) Other (gods) can give us nothing at all.

(27) Only look at the birds in the air. Indeed, they neither sow nor reap. They have neither barns nor cellars to guard.

(28) For instance, such is because the One (God) is even in the desert. There they never lack in food and drink. They have no need to plough. Nor talk they about their raiment.

(29) You are better than all these things, and you should not, indeed, trouble yourself too much therefor.

(30) Remember you well that in accordance with your own (personal) eye-sight, you should not discover another's sins and shortcomings.

(31) Try only to find the uprightness of another's conduct and try to find why you can not yourself be so upright.

(32) For, whilst you yourselves are not upright, if you try to make another upright, it is something like your asking the other person to allow you to take out a mote from the other's eye whilst you have a beam in your own eye.

(33) Therefore, to such a one, I give these words: Liar, first, cast out the beam out of your own eye.

(34) Do not put what is holy and pure before "quasi-persons" (i.e. dogs) lest they despise it.

(35) Do not present your pearls to "the Liaoyang-people" (i.e., ferocious men) who are like swine, lest they trample them under their feet and make them useless.

(36) Such act of self-sacrifice on your part will not be appreciated but it may incur their anger and rebuke the more.

(37) Wherefore are you so ignorant as to ask the One (person of the Godhead) for (these things)?

(38) Knock at the door, and He will open it for you.

(39) For every one that asks the one God will surely be given what he asks.

(40) If you knock at the door, He will open it for you.

(41) But, if you do not obtain what you ask, or if the door is not opened unto you when you knock at it, that is because you are not permitted to ask erroneously.

(42) Indeed, even if you should ask, you would not obtain that which is harmful to yourself.

(43) If you go to your father and ask him for bread, you will immediately get it.

(44) But, if you should ask for a stone, you would not get it for fear it may hurt you.

(45) Likewise, if you ask for a fish, you will get it.

(46) But, if you should ask for a serpent, it is feared that it may perhaps bite you. On that account, it will not be given to you.

(47) These things are done by you who are foolish and wicked.

(48) Then how much more will Our Father who is compassionate and merciful and gracious be willing to give all these!

(49) What is this will which decides what to ask and what to give and what needs must be given?

(50) What are the two things, one that is to be given and the other that is not to be given?

(51) If your children ask you for anything, will you not give him such thing?

(52) In the mind of the One (Person of the Godhead) there are neither the wise nor the unwise. There is a difference only between the righteous and the unrighteous, which can not be in harmony.

(53) Needless to say one who is above will support one who is below.

(54) But if you cannot get what you asked for, it is because you asked for what you ought not to have. What you erroneously asked for you can not obtain.

(55) Whatsoever you would others do for you, others would also the same to be done by you. What others need to be done by you, you may naturally need to be done by them.

(56) Whatever others would do to you you should again do to them so as to reward and compensate them.

(57) Depart ye from the wicked way. For instance, enter the closed-mouth (i.e. narrow) way, and it will lead you to Heaven. Few there are that find it.

(58) Those who travel upon the broad way make joy and merriment, but it will lead them to Hell.

(59) There may be some men who will preach you words of various false doctrines.

(60) But the good is plainly known from the evil by you.

(61) For your sake, you are to come and listen to the law.

(62) What the Messiah did was all in accordance with what had been foreordained.

(63) After His awakening to "the intelligence of Way," three years and six months thus passed.

(64) During which He behaved and practiced so assiduously as to be worthy of a great scribe.

(65) And in His own death He was hanged on high.

(66) There was a Shih-hu man (i.e., a Jew). He was at first a follower; but afterward he raised his hand against (his Master).

(67) Three days before He met His death, this man had already made an agreement (of betrayal).

(68) Thereby all men without exception might be raised from the dead and ascend up to Heaven even as He.

(69) For instance, this work seems to have been done for sanctifying transformation.

(70) And He appointed a certain period of time for the preaching for this to all mankind saying: "After the expiration of full three years and six months, you must decide yourself whether what actually happened in the past was as had been written or no."

(71) Now, the Shih-hu men (i.e., the Jews) caught Him on the charge, as they said, that He talked about His Own Person.

(72) They said: "This 'Son of the Lord' expressed of Himself in His own words, 'I am the Messiah Himself.'"

(73) "Now, did any man ever boldly dare to make such a declaration? This man is not the Messiah. He is an imposter. We want to arrest this man, and we beseech you to think of some convenient means to do so."

(74) On that account He himself went to Fu-lin.

(75) And it was then in the reign of Chi-hsi (i.e., Caesar).

(76) Even if Chi-hsi had not arrested Him, there would have been, indeed, a good reason why He did not escape from braving death.

(77) And when He was arrested and was delivered to those who were learned in the law, they examined Him very minutely concerning every thing.

(78) And even as it was foreordained, He was hanged on high.

(79) Indeed, He was already brought under the power of the law; but was so carefully dealt with to be punished by hanging on high.

(80) You said that you have your own law, and that according to that law of yours, He ought to be put to

death because He himself made such a declaration concerning His own Person.

(81) Now, who in the world could say "I am the Lord of the Universe"?

(82) But let us cease from arguing! When the time to tell the truth comes you will find that the temptation to deceive is not (confined to) yourself alone. Such is (of the nature) of Adam.

(83) That man (Adam) was the very first, and from the very fact that all human beings have descended from him, we know that such a man existed.

(84) Now, who could boldly come forward and dare pretend "I am the Lord of the Universe"? Would not such (an imposition) be discovered easily?

(85) That man (Adam) not obeying the commandment by the Lord (of the Universe) ate the fruit of that tree.

(86) This act of eating the fruit of the tree was no other than the eating of the fruit in one's mind.

(87) From the moment when he ate the fruit he made himself (equal to) the Lord (of the Universe). Apparently, in his mind, it seems that he made himself (equal to) the Lord of the Universe Himself.

(88) This man (Adam), therefore, lost peace with God.

(89) Likewise, if any man should pretend himself to be God, then that very man ought to be put to death.

(90) The Messiah, therefore, is not the Lord (of the Universe) Himself, but He made the Lord (of the Universe) known to all mankind.

(91) The Messiah Himself did the work of Sanctifying Transformation in a limitless measure.

(92) What He did shows that He is not the seed of man. On the contrary, what he did shows that He is the seed of the Lord (of the Universe).

(93) Now, there was also the beloved (part of Adam's) body. And this one was his tempter.

(94) Therefore, this (tempter) is to have one and the same punishment as Adam.

(95) It is because the old (seed) of the tempter exists in you that you are to be punished.

(96) Had it not been for these acts (of Adam and Eve) the (following) announcement (of the glad tidings) would not have been expected.

(97) "Only He was like a sheep that was led to the

slaughter, and He opens not His mouth nor does He bleat and complain.

(98) "So He did not open His mouth but remained so silent when He was examined and He came to suffer the punishment on His body in accordance with the law."

(99) Thus He suffered the punishment in love for you in order that the seed and nature of Adam in you may be won and transformed by Him.

(100) For instance, it seems to be plain, therefore, that though the Messiah suffered death in His body of "the five Attributes", His life did not end therewith.

(101) On account of this, even the foolish tempters are made to escape death like other seed of Adam.

(102) They, therefore, need not die necessarily such death as to end the life therewith even if they suffer death.

(103) Only by succour of the Holy Mystery in and through the Messiah can all people be saved.

(104) Now, in such a convenient way, the Messiah is to be received (as the Saviour) by all mankind through His sufferings.

(105) To receive Him, however, is not to remain without strength (i.e., effort). But to receive Him is not the act requiring strength (i.e., effort).

(106) Hereupon by enforcing the law in His own appointed time they hanged Him on high.

(107) And consequently, when He yielded up the ghost, the earth did quake and the mountains did crumble, and the rocks were broken, whilst the temple veil which was made of good woolen cloth, and which had been hung across (therein) was rent in twain from the top to the bottom by reason of this Sanctifying Transformation.

(108) There were (many) graves which opened of themselves, and we are told that bodies of the virtuous arose from the dead to life, and that they appeared to many people.

(109) And He remained with them for fourteen days and one month, and (during which) not a day passed without His appearing unto them in dark places, (lit., within the closed gate).

(110) The Sanctifying Transformation was done in such a way three times a day.

(111) For instance, it is plain that in the dark nothing can be seen by human eyes.

(112) But, now (this) Sanctifying Transformation

is to be heard with your own ears, and can be seen with your own eyes.

(113) And because of the fact that the Messiah was hanged on high, He is acknowledged to be the true Lord of the Universe.

(114) For instance, every thing (in His life) took place as it had been written.

(115) Now, when it was dark, there came a man who was a flesh-relation of "the five attributes" of the Messiah, and who was devoted to the Lord of the Universe and was called Yao-hsi (i.e., Joseph) at the change of name.

(116) This man, observing the law of the country, went to the house of (Pilate) and begged the body (of Jesus).

(117) (Joseph) wrapped the body (of Jesus) in a new clean cloth, and buried Him in a new grave-yard, where was a new tomb, which had recently been hewn out on the side of the broken off hill.

(118) A great stone was placed at that place, and then the seal was put over the cover-stone.

(119) The Kinsmen of the Shih-hu also had a watch set up to guard the tomb.

(120) They said: "We remember that this Messiah said (whilst He was yet alive), 'In three days, I will rise again from the dead.'

(121) "Now do not be deceived. His disciples will come for this sacred coffin of yours.

(122) "Do not allow them to steal it and to declare falsely to the world that He had risen from the dead."

(123) So saying, the kinsmen of the Shih-hu had the Messiah watched for three days.

(124) For instance, they also went to the place where the tomb was and kept their eyes at the seal from the outside.

(125) For instance, there were some female disciples who followed Him from the time of the betrayal. And there were also others besides these women, who were eye-witnesses. They all thus (described):

(126) There was an angel whom the Lord of the Universe made to wear a white raiment, looking for instance, like frost and snow, and who was made, coming down from Heaven upon the great stone, to face toward the place where the guards were stationed.

(127) Now there was that great stone by the side of that old door of the tomb.

(128) But, when (the door) was opened, and the angel was found sitting on the stone,

(129) The guards saw that the appearance was exactly like an angel.

(130) They at once went into the tomb and looked for "the five attributes" (i.e., the body of Jesus) but found nothing.

(131) At last, they said: "Let us give up the burial place and go away."

(132) At that time those who eye-witnessed what happened went to the Shih-hu men and told them the details.

(133) The Shih-hu men gave a great amount of money (to the guards), and asked them many pretended questions and kept them loitering on.

(134) And then they said afterward: "If the guards had seen anything, why should they not have spoken about it at the time?"

(135) But these guards said that the One (Person of the Godhead), according to what was prophesied, is the Messiah, and that His rising from the dead is also what was written in the prophecy.

(136) Then, the women, preparing themselves with all things necessary in accordance with the law, also came to the place where He had been buried.

(137) (Some of) the Shih-hu men, also very early in the morning of the third day, came to the tomb and wanted to make sure concerning Him.

(138) Behold! The Messiah had risen and departed!

(139) (The women,) therefore, reported the fact to another, and they all went where the disciples were met together.

(140) For instance, it was like the women's first predecessor in the world, who credulously and carelessly conveyed to Adam that lie which had been told to her and which brought all the sins of mankind into this world.

(141) So, for instance, it was these women who had been to the tomb and brought again the tales (of the resurrection).

(142) But, behold, the Messiah himself appeared to the disciples and told them that what the women reported to them was true.

(143) And (the Messiah) coming in the midst of the disciples who had met together at "the place where they make themselves virtuous" (i.e., the place where

they assembled for prayer and worship), showed Himself to them and then to the world.

(144) After this, those who came to Him all went away filled with the faith in Him.

(145) The disciples of the Messiah understood clearly and decided distinctly what to do and went forth into all parts of the world, (doing what was commanded by Him) saying:

(146) "Preach ye my words to all the races of mankind. And when they come forward to water, mark them in the name of the Father and the Son and the Holy spirit, and make them decide to observe completely what was taught by me. Observe ye all that which is taught by me for I shall be with you even to the end of the world."

(147) It is said that the Messiah was on the earth for thirty days after He had risen from the dead and taught (the disciples) saying: "you shall be given power over all the creation without exception and shall understand even all speeches and languages."

(148) He also added a promise saying: "The Holy Wind (i.e., Spirit) shall be granted from Heaven to those of you who will come forward and pray for it."

(149) Behold! Heaven opened and the Messiah, coming into the transparent place of heaven, appeared in the sky.

(150) Up in heaven there was a figure of a man, sitting amidst "the Wind of Great Mercy."

(151) Thus the Great Sanctifying Transformation of all mankind was done.

(152) But at the same time, it was also seen that the devils, aroused of malicious envy, behaved so badly as to attack man from above in the same way as they throw "offerings" (i.e., the Chinese for the Sanskrit Pudja) down upon the earth.

(153) But those whom the Lord of the Universe gains to Himself, He rescued them all from a state of suffering.

(154) The devils also raised the hand against men, and getting hold of them, made them utterly useless.

(155) In consequence, the human beings were made to suffer greater afflictions and troubles than ever.

(156) And in fear and dread (the devils) made the human beings depart far from the Lord of the Universe and raise their hands against the Messiah.

(157) But, all the human beings who have faith will come to the Lord of the Universe.

(158) If there are any who have no faith in this, it must be said that, because of their unbelief, their eye can not see Him.

(159) But He who is the Creator Himself is from the beginning complete and perfect, and shall be, indeed, ever so.

(160) And this very Person (who is the Creator) exists at this very moment.

(161) And consequently the living indeed, need not be in doubt and anxiety so long as they live. Nor should they need fear death in their mind.

(162) For instance, their death will be like the death of their forerunners.

(163) Now, is any of them possibly lost for ever?

(164) They that have faith in the Messiah Himself will not be in doubt and anxiety about rising again from "the Yellow-Spring," and that all human beings without exception shall rise again.

(165) Ten days after the Messiah had ascended into Heaven, He again added more faith to the disciples, and "admitted them into the secret of the Way," and gave them the Holy Spirit.

(166) And from on high He looked on His disciples, and saw clearly that they were all filled with the Holy Spirit manifestly and fully.

(167) For instance, a light of fire sat upon the head of the disciples, which appeared like tongues as of fire.

(168) When they were given the Holy Spirit, they had power to teach all nations and races of mankind the Messiah, and could make the whole of mankind to see clearly the judgment of the Lord of Heaven.

(169) Behold! Who is this (man) that has come to this world from (your) Father and perfected the work of Sanctifying Transformation?

(170) For our own transgressions and sins, He made His own free Person responsible and suffered the death of His "five attributes of body."

(171) And in three days, He rose from the dead, and this was by the power and strength of the Lord of Heaven on high above.

(172) A thing like that was never heard of before!

(173) This world is for the Messiah's own praise and glory.

(174) He will make all people without exception rise again.

(175) All the human beings that are dead will rise into this world, while those that (died) without hearing (the Gospel) will also be made to submit to the judgment of the Messiah at the end of this world.

(176) Rising from "the yellow-spring," all people are made to come to "the Place to substantiate the Law" (i.e., the judgment seat) in order that they may receive life (eternal).

(177) For instance, this is no other than the time of the judgment, when all the people in this world will either be rewarded or punished.

(178) Those that have faith (in Him), indeed, will be taken to the abode of the Messiah.

(179) Those that worship the Lord of the Universe will enter the Heavenly abode and dwell there everlastingly.

(180) They shall also be given the joy of eternal life there.

(181) In that abode of the Messiah's, every act done will be found perfect and complete, and will never be passed without being rewarded.

(182) The Lord of the Universe, for instance, is no other (Person) than He who was sent from the Father.

(183) If you do not worship (Him), then you will worship the devil and will remain in impure and unholy places.

(184) And you who will (not) take delight in what is decided for you shall be carried to "the dark Earth-prison" (i.e., Hell),

(185) And there, departing from the good place forever you will have to live together with the devils and demons.

(186) Manifesting Himself clearly and distinctly in the world, He taught people His judgment. And, how perfect and complete is that which He taught, indeed!

(187) Those direct disciples of the Messiah were not seeds of men. They are the seeds of men regenerated by the Lord of the Universe.

(188) Consequently, these disciples, in the name of the Messiah, healed the sick, and cured all people of their ills.

(189) There are the devil-demons, whose side-name is Pa-t'o (i.e., the Chinese for the Sanskrit Bhūta, demon). Living on dead human beings, the devil-demons make the

disciples of the Messiah the object of hatred in this whole world.

(190) In every thing and at every place, the devildemons competed with, and tried to conquer, the Messiah's disciples.

(191) And they also succeeded in getting hold of the above mentioned man of Shih-hu.

(192) Consequently, those who do not receive (the Messiah) have only to remain in the state of innumerable sufferings, and will finally be led into "the last of the eight hot hells."

(193) Now, this (country of) Shih-hu (i.e., the Jew) is no other than (that of) Fu-lin (i.e., Ephraim).

(194) And inside the walled city of Ita (i.e., Judea) in the Rockcountry (i.e., Syria) that man (of Shih-hu) destroyed himself by breaking his "entrance of voice" (i.e., the throat).

(195) This happened, indeed, to him according to his own measure.

(196) Besides, the people of Shih-hu were all killed, and afterwards all the rest of the inhabitants (of that country) were either plundered or carried away into captivity.

(197) In consequence, they were scattered all over the world; and thus the disciples of the Messiah were increased the more.

(198) It is said, however, that those who made "open announcements" of the Lord of the Universe, and those who served the Lord of the Universe were the object of hatred.

(199) But in (things) small or great, the rest of the people, without any other consideration, only tried to get on well in their trades.

(200) The disciples of the Messiah were all martyred, and the (worldly) dignity of the nation to which they belonged was lost.

(201) But on that very account they came to receive the teaching (of Messiah) the more perfectly.

(202) Now, be it known that the work of Sanctifying Transformation of the Lord of the Universe will take place at an unknown hour just as before.

(203) It is right, therefore, that people should be prepared well against His coming.

(204) Let any one of you who serves the Lord of the Universe consider well and let him examine himself closely so that he may keep "the wrong doctrines" away

(205) For even good deeds (you do), however perfect and complete they may be, would not be of any avail at all in attaining your desire.

(206) The Lord of the Universe has now been reconciled to all human beings.

(207) All the kings and the people have come to dwell in harmony with one another.

(208) But, both in Fu-lin (Ephraim) and in Persia, the laws were made against those people who held this doctrine; and by which laws they were searched out to be martyred.

(209) All who raised their voice against (these laws) were martyred, being destroyed either in mounds or in pit-holes so that they need not be deported from their own countries.

(210) How, then, could there have been any one to serve the Messiah within the boundaries of these countries?

(211) But it is said that the name and appellation (of the Teaching) show clearly and distinctly that this world is the place of action.

(212) But the mysterious art of the Lord of the Universe is the Sanctifying Transformation of the different races of men.

(213) Meditating on the various devices and plans (of salvation) is what other sects would do.

(214) But in the teaching of the Lord of the Universe our prayer is all that is needed to have our desire completely fulfilled.

(215) And He alone may, indeed, well be called "the Holy Lord of all the kings."

(216) Whosoever went to Fu-lin and whosoever went to Persia were all martyred on account of the wicked laws that existed there.

(217) For those who bore (the Messiah's name) the strict search was almost impossible to bear.

(218) But, for that very reason, all the people of Fu-lin have now come to worship the Lord of the Universe.

(219) There are still a small number of people in Persia who, being led astray, are co-operating with the devil-demons in their wicked deeds. They are the people who worship the images made of earth.

(220) But, the rest of the people (of Persia) all worship the Lord of the Universe and are united in declaring that I-Shu (i.e., Jesus) is the Messiah!

(221) Although these people have been carrying out the Sanctifying work of the Lord of the Universe throughout the world, they have not been so for many years yet.

(222) Wherefore ever since the time when the the Messiah revealed Himself clearly and distinctly to the world, He has ever been manifesting Himself to all the people in this world.

(223) Though it is only 641 years since the time of the birth of the Messiah, consisting of "the five attributes," yet (His name) is known in all parts of the world.

(224) Any one who has the wisdom to understand may see what this manifestation as well as the mysterious art of Sanctifying Transformation is.

(225) In your tender years, you perhaps learned that human beings themselves are not capable of "adding the Power to themselves" (i.e., to save themselves).

(226) Only by the Divine Power of the Lord of Heaven all human beings will get wisdom.

(227) All things that exist owe their existence entirely to the Divine Power of this one God.

(228) Therefore, the Messiah chose his own direct disciples and sent them abroad (saying):

(229) Go you unto the world and preach all things that I have taught you and declare the same to all people.

(230) What I do is different from what the sacred masters or kings of this world do.

(231) They chose their disciples from among the rich and the noble.

(232) But I chose my disciples from among the poor and obscure people.

(233) And such is the law of the Messiah's prayer and supplication, which was taught (by Him).

(234) All the rest will be perfectly and completely fulfilled. And, indeed, all the people also know that this is what this one God wills.

(235) Therefore, it must be said that this law (of salvation) was given by the One God not only to His own people but also to all the people without exception.

(236) Whosoever wants to get "the self-liberation," this one God will grant it.

(237) Again, whether the soul shall go up to Heaven or not, indeed, must also be decided in accordance with the following law:

(238) You must not commit any act of deception or

of seduction or of falsehood. Nor must not even express any foolish words. Nor must you lead a sinful life. The law shall be so to all men without exception.

(239) Those who go astray from the Way will lead a sinful life because they act in pursuance of the perverted Way.

(240) But if there are those persons who strive to forsake a sinful life in order to return to their former substance, they could do so by walking in the Way of the One God, and by obeying the determined will of the One God.

(241) There is no other way (of salvation) except this.

(242) All mankind should turn toward Heaven, and try to know the One (Person of the Godhead), the Lord of Heaven, and His determined will only.

(243) But the rest shall all be destined to be judged by the One God.

(244) If there are any who go astray from the Way, they are those who are in fear of men or who give themselves up to the worship of the sun, the moon, and the stars and even the fire-gods.

(245) Those who are in fear of men, or who give themselves up to devils and demons and the Yakchas and the Rakcharas, etc., will fall into the Hot Hells and have to remain there forever.

(246) In order to gain "the (former) state to substantiate the law," they ought not to rely on the greatness of faith.

(247) But in doing the acts of faith, if they do not work in accordance with the determined will (of God) they will remain only with the devils and Yakchas and Rachasas and other demons, etc.

(248) And in composing their Sûtras, they only copy out from the Law Books of the One God.

(249) In these last days, when the end of the world is drawing near, the devils will possess persons and appear in their forms, and will cause to bring the judgement (of God) upon all mankind by innumerable deeds through their arts of seduction and temptation.

(250) Acting thus, the devils will spoil and hurt all mankind and make them to go astray, from the one God, and cause their own figures to be placed here and there.

(251) Therefore, (the Lord) declared Himself and taught the disciples, saying: "I am the Messiah. For

three years and a half I shall exercise my reforming and curing influence."

(252) At the end of three years and six months, all those who are skillful in wicked deeds, and those who are wicked by nature will be shown quite clearly.

(253) Any one who wants to return to the (former) substance must do meritorious deeds. Is there any one who can face the judgement of the Lord of Heaven without faith in Him? They are none other than the devil-demons that appeared in this world taking the form of men.

(254) The Messiah together with the One God sees (us all) distinctly and clearly from Heaven.

(255) On the last day of the world, when the dead shall be raised again, these shall be all judged.

(256) There, you who have already embraced the faith, or you who do all kinds of meritorious deeds, or who will walk in His way with an honest heart, shall all enter Heaven and remain in that abode of happiness for ever and ever.

(257) But those who have the full knowledge of the One God and His right way (taught) in the good Sūtras and yet do not themselves do what is commanded therein, or those who do not obey the determined will of the One God, still continuing to do wicked deeds, shall all fall into the Hell together with those who worship the devils and demons or Yakchas and Rakchasas.

(258) They shall remain there forever, existing in a state of hardship and misery, in the great fire which will burn endlessly in that place.

(259) Those who want to be saved, harken unto these words and do what is commanded.

(260) And all who listen to these words must also do as was commanded therein.

(261) If there be any who do not delight to hear these words (of God), let him examine himself fully for what is taught here concerns both his body and his soul.

(262) If there be any who neither delight (to hear these words) nor desire to listen to what is preached here they are in company with the devils. They shall be cast out into Hell forever.

The Discourse on Monotheism, Book III.

THE TRAVELS OF EMPEROR MU

Translated by CHENG TE-K'UN

(Continued from Vol. LXIV, p. 142).

CHAPTER IV.

On the day *kêng-shên*, the emperor arrived at T'ao-shui,¹ the water supply of the Cho-yu² family.

On *hsin-ssü* the emperor rode eastward, arriving at Su-ku,³ where the Ku-kan⁴ family obtained the materials for their clothes. Marching on southward and making his way back to the east, the emperor arrived at Ch'ang-t'an,⁵ the western frontier of the domain of the Ch'ung-yung-shih⁶ on the day *ping-hsü*.

The next day, *ting-hai*, the emperor ascended Ch'ang-t'an, and proceeding eastward he arrived among the Ch'ung-yung-shih by the Black River. The wild wheat and the wild bean which the people of the Wild West named *mu-ho*,⁷ grew in this country and furnished the chief food supply of the people. There the Ts'ai-shih-shan⁸ ruled by the Ch'ung-yung-shih, is said to produce the best precious-stones of the world, such as *chi-ssü*, *hsüan-kuei*, *yi-yao*, *lang-kan*, *ch'in-tsao*, *ch'ai-tsao*, *yu-ch'i* and *luh-wei*.⁹

It was the first month of the autumn, on the day *kuei-ssü*, when the emperor ordered the Ch'ung-yung-shih to supply his company with provisions. On the day *ting-wu* the emperor ascended the Beautiful Stone Mountain and mined for precious-stones. He ordered the people of this country to carve the stones into vessels on the banks of the Black River. The vessels for domestic

¹ 泗水, "Rushing River."

² 蘇谷, "Sapanwood Valley."

³ 長洪

⁴ 木采

⁵ 枝斯, 璫瑰, 瓊瑤, 琅玕, 玲瓏, 无瓏, 玕瓏, 徽尾.

⁶ 濁縣

⁷ 骨飴

⁸ 重甌

⁹ 采石山, "Beautiful Stone Mountain."

use and the articles for ornaments are all very well done indeed. It is said that the emperor spent the first month of the autumn in this country.

On the day *kuei-hai*, the emperor gave a banquet to Kuan Yuan¹⁰ of the Ch'ung-yung-shih and bestowed on him twenty-nine gold cups, a silk bird, fifty shell girdles, seven hundred pearls, one hundred *kang* of bamboo shoots, cassia and ginger, a piece of silk fabric and a musical instrument. Kuan Yuan accepted the gifts after the ceremony of prostration.

On the day *yi-ch'ou*, the emperor rode back to the east and Kuan Yuan escorted him to the Ch'ang-sha Mountain,¹¹ presenting Po Yao accepted the presents by the emperor's order. "The ancestor of the Ch'ung-yung-shih," said Po Yao to the emperor, "settled down in this region which was formerly occupied by the San Miao tribe."¹² Then the emperor bestowed on him a gold *tsao*¹³ and some brilliant, pure silver. Kuan Yuan accepted the gifts after the ceremony of prostration.

On the day *ping-yin*, the emperor drove eastward and turned to the south, arriving at Wen-shan¹⁴

The people of the Wild West entertained the emperor at a banquet on the Elegant Mountain, offering as presents three hundred horses for food, two thousand cattle, and one thousand carts full of millet and rice. Pi Chü¹⁵ accepted the presents by the emperor's order.

It is said that . . . the emperor roamed over the Elegant Mountain for three days and procured many beautiful gems.

On the day *jen-yin*, when the emperor was feasting at the foot of the mountain, Kuei Yi¹⁶ of the people of this mountain presented to him ten quadriga of good horses, three hundred oxen, ninety dogs and two hundred camels for the trip across the desert. The emperor had

¹⁰ 鯨鯢.

¹¹ 長沙山.

¹² 三苗 According to the route of travel, the people of San-miao must have originally settled on the west of Tun-huang 燉煌, Kansu. Many scholars maintain that the San-miao are the ancestors of the present Miao tribes which settled in the south-western part of China. The theory is based on the use of the character 苗 for both tribes; but it is by no means plausible, as racially they are two different tribes, and geographically far apart.

¹³ 闕 An ancient word for 環 which means the carving over doors.

¹⁴ 文山, "Elegant Mountain."

¹⁵ 畢炬.

¹⁶ 歸遺.

many good horses, oxen, dogs and sheep; he spared thirty of them to make sacrifice to the god of the mountain. He bestowed on Kuei Yi twenty-nine gold cups, thirty shell girdles, three hundred pearls and one hundred *kang* of cassia and ginger. Kuei Yi prostrated himself and accepted the gifts.

On the day *kuei-yu*, the emperor ordered the eight steeds to be harnessed to his chariots. The emperor rode on the first chariot driven by Tsao Fu with the assistance of Ch'i Ping¹⁷ and with Hua-liu and Ch'ih-chi on the right and Lu-erh and Pai-yi on the left. Po Yao rode on the second chariot driven by Ts'an Pai, with the assistance of Kao Pên-lung and with Ch'ü-huang and Tao-li on the right and Yü-lun and Shan-tzū on the left.¹⁸ Thus the company hurried forward to the southeast, driving for a thousand *li* as furiously as if flying through the sky. At last, they arrived at the domain of Chü-sou.¹⁹ Sang Nu²⁰ of the people of this country, presented the emperor with a drink of the blood of a white goose and also prepared a large quantity of the milk of cows and goats for washing the feet of those who had driven in the chariots.

On the day *chia-hsü*, Sang Nu entertained the emperor at a banquet on the Jan-liu Mountain,²¹ presenting three hundred horses, three thousand cattle, one thousand carts of autumn wheat and thirty carts of big grain. Po Yao accepted the presents by the emperor's order. The host again presented to his royal guest forty pieces of *chi-ssü*, one hundred pairs of precious jade vessels and ornaments,²² forty pieces of *lang-kan* and ten cases full of hempen cloth. Tsao Fu accepted the presents also by the emperor's order. The emperor gave him a silver tree, a beautiful *tsao*, twenty-nine gold cups, forty shell girdles, three hundred pearls and one hundred *kang* of cassia and ginger. Sang Nu prostrated himself and accepted the gifts.

On the day *yi-hai*, the emperor rode southward and by crossing the eastern range of the Yang-yü Mountain and the Pi-yao Valley²³ he arrived at Ch'i-lo²⁴ on the

¹⁷ 蒯 綰.

¹⁸ [The names of the Emperor's celebrated eight steeds and their drivers are given in Chapter I, (Vol. LXIV, p. 131).—Editor.]

¹⁹ 巨 蒐.

²⁰ 繡 奴.

²¹ 焚 留 山.

²² 僊 館, 曼 龍, 瑛 佩. The first four characters are as yet unidentified, though we may assume that they mean some kinds of precious stones.

²³ 穉 霄 pronounced like 蕊 腰.

²⁴ 繡 瑯 the ancient forms of 漆 洛.

northern bank of the River. The T'ang-sou Mountain²⁵ which stood in this region was the place where the descendants of the God of the River entertained the Son of Heaven.

Mou-chin,²⁶ a plant which grew in this region, had delicious leaves and made good food. The emperor liked it very much. He gave to Po Yao as a reward a piece of ornamental jade and the latter accepted it by kneeling down and bowing his head to the ground.

On the day *kuei-ch'ou*, the emperor rode eastward and Po Yao escorted him to the domain of Pêng Jen. Duke Po Hsü entertained his guests at Tsao-tsê²⁷ on the bank of the Fa-to river.²⁸ This is the place where the Ho [River] flows southward and it is said that the emperor rested here for five days, waiting for his six divisions of soldiers whom he had left behind.

On the day *mou-wu*, the emperor proceeded on eastward. He ordered Po Yao to go back to his own country. "Son of the God of the River, be forever upright." These were the last words of the emperor and Po Yao knelt and bowed his head to the ground and departed. The emperor then turned southward, mounting over the range of the Ch'ang-sung Mountain.²⁹

It was the first month of winter, and on the day *jen-hsü* the emperor arrived at the Lei-shou Mountain,³⁰ where the Ch'uan Jung barbarians entertained him, presenting forty-six horses for food. K'ung Ya³¹ accepted them by the emperor's order.

It is said that the water of the Lei River³² was not very cold and that the people of this region engaged in breeding dogs, horses and cattle. They bred also black oxen with white horns and black goats with white horns.

On the day *kuei-hai*, the emperor rode southward and crossing over the range of the Tzū Mountain,³³ he reached the dangerous pass of the Hsing Mountain on the day *ping-kêng*. He tried to cross the three divisions of the pass going eastward but in vain. He had to stay for the

²⁵ 曼洩, 曼 is an ancient form of 湯.

²⁶ 模菹, 菹 pronounced like 謹.

²⁸ 藟多, 藟 pronounced like 伐.

²⁹ 長松之陞 on the southeast of Yi-ch'uan-hsien 宜川縣 Shensi.

³⁰ 雷首山 on the south of Yung-chi-hsien 永濟縣 Shansi.

³¹ 孔牙.

³² 雷水 The river has its source in the Lei-shou Mountain.

³³ 鋸 pronounced like 營.

night half way. Being so near to his own realm he sent Mao Pan³⁴ and Fêng Ku forward that they might prepare for his return.

On the day *kuei-yu*, the emperor ordered his servants to harness the eight steeds to his chariot, red horses four in a row. Driven by Tsao Fu, he rode on like a bird flying through the Chai Pass,³⁵ up the T'ai-hang Mountain,³⁶ and across the River on the south. On and on for a thousand *li* he drove until at last he arrived at his own city of Tsung-chou.³⁷ Here the officials of the court welcomed their master by presenting to him drinks of white goose blood and by washing his feet with the precious fluid. Tsao Fu gave his four steeds drink of the blood of goats.

On the day *kêng-shên*, the emperor held a grand audience in the ancestral temple in the city. He then estimated the distance of his travels to the west to be the following:

From Tsung-chou, west of the Ch'an River ³⁸ to the kingdom of Ho Tsung at the Yang-yü Mountain ..	3,400 <i>li</i>
From the Yang-yü Mountain to the kingdom of Hsi-hsia ³⁹	2,500 <i>li</i>
From Hsi-hsia to the kingdom of Chu Yü, ⁴⁰ by the source of the River	1,500 <i>li</i>
From the Hsiang Mountain ⁴¹ by the source of the River southwest to the Ch'un Mountain, to the Pearl Pond, and to the K'un-lun Mountain	700 <i>li</i>
From the Ch'un Mountain to the Ch'un Mountain in the domain of the Red Bird	300 <i>li</i>
Turning northeast to the Ch'un-yü Mountain by the northern range of the Ch'un Mountain and from the Ch'un-yü Mountain to the kingdom of the Royal Mother of the West	3,000 <i>li</i>
From the kingdom of the Royal Mother to the Wide Plain, where the birds left their feathers	1,900 <i>li</i>
From Tsung-chou to the Big Wide Plain on the northwest	14,000 <i>li</i>
Turning southeast back to the Yang-yü Mountain	7,000 <i>li</i>
Returning to the city of Chou	3,000 <i>li</i>
The total extent of the various routes [about]	35,000 <i>li</i>

³⁴毛班 Later called Mao-kung 毛公., *kung* being the official title corresponding to "duke."

³⁵程道 The pass goes through the T'ai-hang Mountain in Mi-yang-hsien 沁陽縣 Honan.

³⁶太行山 The range begins at Chi-yuan-hsien 濟源縣 Honan, and continues northeast into Shansi for about a thousand *li*.

³⁷宗周.

³⁸灋水 flows by the east of Loyang, Honan.

³⁹西夏 The country is not mentioned in the preceding text; the reference must have been lost.

⁴⁰殊余.

⁴¹囊山 Another name for Lei-shou Mountain.

On the auspicious day of *chia-shên*, the emperor sacrificed in the Ancestral Temple. The next day, *yi-yu*, he [feasted] his six divisions of soldiers on the bank of the Lo river.

On the day *ting-hai* the emperor crossed the River and the Pass of the [Kao]-ti Mountain.⁴² He ascended the range of the Mêng-mên Mountain,⁴³ through which nine rivers flowed, and proceeded on to the southwest.

The second month of the winter, on the day *jen-shên*, the emperor reached the Lei Mountain⁴⁴ and here he entertained himself with the *kuang* music for three days.

On the auspicious day of *ting-yu*, the emperor returned to Nan-chêng.⁴⁵

CHAPTER V.¹

The emperor stayed in Huo-tsê² for four days, spending his time in shooting birds and hunting animals.

On the day *ting-ch'ou* the emperor It rained and Chi Fu came to visit him from Pu-cheng.³

Messages came from the people of Pi⁴ reporting the invasion of their country by the people of Hsün-chai.⁵ The emperor immediately ordered Mêng Yü⁶ to set out for the border to conduct a campaign against the invaders.

⁴² 緄 緄山 On the north of the Lo River 洛水 Honan.

⁴³ 盟門山 In Mêng-ching-hsien 孟津縣 Honan.

⁴⁴ 羣 pronounced like 累.

⁴⁵ 南鄭 In the first year of his reign, Emperor Mu built the Chih Palace 祗宮 in Nan-chêng, and after that the city became a favourite resort of the emperor. The old city is now situated on the north of Hua-hsien, 華縣, Shensi.

CHAPTER V

¹ [Those who may have access to *The China Review*, Vol. XVII, p. 247 *et seq.*, will note the many divergences between the present rendering and that of Dr. Eitel,—*Editor.*]

² 漢澤, 漢 pronounced like 獲, a *hsien* in Shansi, on the west of Yang-ch'êng-hsien 陽城縣.

³ 圃鄭, 圃 means a vegetable garden. Chêng was a powerful state during the Ch'un-ch'iu period 春秋 of the Chou dynasty (770-464). This locality probably somewhere in Honan, had a great number of vegetable gardens.

⁴ 畢 A state of the Ch'un-ch'iu period of the Chou dynasty. The locality is now the district of Han-yang-hsien 咸陽縣 in Shensi. The first two sentences of this paragraph are misplaced on page 26 (a) in the original text.

⁵ 陵翟 A tribe settled in Shensi. The locality is now in Ta-li-hsien 大荔縣 of that province. 陵 is pronounced like 陵.

⁶ 孟愈, 愈 pronounced like 豫.

But on hearing the news, the people of Liu-k'un⁷ sent a tribute of one hundred pieces of jade and the people of Hsün-chai offered bribes of one hundred teams of four good horses each. They returned the precious vessels of Pi and pleaded for peace. Shou Hu,⁸ Count of Hsün, entertained the emperor in Tung-mu.⁹

When the emperor was roaming on the bank of the Wei River,¹⁰ the Baron of Hsü¹¹ pleaded for an audience with the emperor. He was refused through Chi Fu, the reason given being that he should have presented himself before the emperor with silk fabrics and jade ornaments and not in sheep's fur. The Baron of Hsü gladly accepted the reproof and returned with silk and jade. The emperor ordered Mao Pan to accept the presents and on that day gave a banquet in honour of the baron on the bank of the Wei River.

"I have never been to your State," said the emperor to the baron, "but I have heard that you have governed your people well. And to-day, I have great pleasure in dining with you, uncle Hsü,¹² so please do not stand on ceremony."

The baron did not dissent and took his seat beside the emperor as the feast and the music were beginning.

The emperor bestowed on him sixteen good horses, and the baron, leaving his seat, knelt before the emperor and touched his head to the floor. He was soon reseated. The banquet lasted until the sun dropped behind the bushes and the baron retired by the emperor's command.

On the day *kuei-hai*, in a bird carriage and a dragon boat the emperor amused himself by traveling around a large lake.

It was the last month of the spring, and on the day *kêng-wu*, the emperor feasted on the bank of the Wei River. He sent Chi Fu to Pu-chêng to call a conference of all the feudal lords and impart to them the decrees of the Son of Heaven.

⁷ 留昆 The country of a western tribe.

⁸ 壽胡.

⁹ 東牡.

¹⁰ 洧水 A small river in Honan. The district of Wei-ch'uan 洧川 still retains the name.

¹¹ 許 A small state of the Ch'un-ch'iu period. The locality is now the district of Hsü-ch'ang-hsien 許昌縣 Honan.

¹² It was the custom of the emperors of the Chou dynasty to address in this way the feudal lords who possessed different surnames. 咎氏 = 舅氏.

On the day *hsin-wei*, the emperor returned to the north. He fished in the Chien Pond,¹³ and feasted in Sang-yeh¹⁴ [Mulberry Plain].

On the day *ting-chou*, the emperor estimated the size of his fields and gardens east to Fang,¹⁵ west to Tun-ch'iu,¹⁶ south to Sang-yeh and covering Ching-lin¹⁷ and the Chu . . . Swamp,¹⁸ which was fifty *li* from south to north, on the north. Then he divided the gardens into ten portions and gave them into the charge of the *yü*¹⁹ [land officers]. The eastern *yü* took charge of T'u-t'ai;²⁰ the western *yü* of Li-ch'iu;²¹ the southern *yü* of Fu-ch'iu;²² and the northern *yü* of Hsiang-ch'iu.²³ The chief of the land officers inspected the different portions to see that the gardens were kept in order.

On the day *jen-shên*, the emperor went to Chün-ch'iu²⁴ and hunted in the marshy pond.

On the day *chia-yin*, the emperor ordered the Fan Palace²⁵ to be built. Here he afterwards enjoyed himself in watching his people gathering mulberry leaves and in feasting under the trees. He ordered the mulberry *yü* to inspect constantly the field so that destructive people would not injure the trees.

It was the second month of the summer, on the day *chia-shên*, the emperor . . .

On the day *kêng-yin* the emperor traveled to the west and stayed over night in the State of Chi.²⁶ Two days later, on *jen-shên*, the Duke of Chi entertained the emperor with wine, and sang for his royal guest the "Hymn of

¹³ 漸澤 The pond is located 20 *li* north of Wei-ch'uan-hsien 洧川縣 Honan, and now has a diameter of several *li*. It must have been many times larger in the time of the Chou dynasty.

¹⁴ 桑野.

¹⁵ 房 A small state of the Ch'un-ch'iu period located in what is now the district of Sui-p'ing-hsien 遂平縣 Honan.

¹⁶ 頓邱 A district belonging to the Wei State 衛國. It was located about 25 *li* southwest of what is now Ch'ing-fêng-hsien 清豐縣 Hopei.

¹⁷ 經林.

¹⁸ 葵口.

¹⁹ 虞 According to the *Chou Li* 周禮, under the land officials 地官 there were *shan-yü* and *tsé-yü*. The former took charge of hilly lands and the latter of swamp lands.

²⁰ 兔臺.

²¹ 機丘.

²² 富丘.

²³ 相丘.

²⁴ 軍丘.

²⁵ 范宮 also called Fan-li Palace 范離宮.

²⁶ 祭 A small state of the Ch'un-ch'iu period. Its capital city was located 15 *li* northeast of K'aifêng, Honan. The present name is Chi-po 祭伯.

King Chêng." ²⁷ In reply the emperor ordered his musicians to sing the "Honoured Veterans." ²⁸ Then the feasting and the music began.

On the day *ting-yu*, the emperor built a tower as his western resort.

On the day *jen-yin* the emperor traveled eastward and arrived at Ch'iao-liang, ²⁹ and on *chia-shên*, he rowed on the Jung Lake ³⁰ and enjoyed himself with the *kuang* music.

On the day *kêng-shê* in the last month of the summer the emperor took his rest in the Fan Palace.

²⁷ 闕天之詩, 闕 is an ancient form of 昊. The hymn appears in the *Book of Poetry*, sec. 8, no. 6, which Allen (C.F.R.) translates as follows:—

"It was by heaven's firm fixed decree
The throne was given to monarchs twain.
King Chêng, too, sat there, nor was he
A king in slothfulness to reign,
To strengthen and to glorify
His throne he laboured night and day.
His efforts won tranquillity
And peace which ne'er shall pass away."

It has been thought that the Duke sang this purposely to testify against the wanderlust of the emperor.

²⁸ 南山有麟. 麟 is an ancient form of 臺 which is a kind of grass. The song also appears in the *Book of Poetry*, sec. 4, part 1, no. 7, which Allen (C.F.R.) translates as follows:—

"On the mountains to the southward and the northward
we may see
Forests rise in thick luxuriance of bush, and shrub
and tree.
There are herbs for men to gather, there are fruit-trees
bearing fruits
Trees umbrageous and majestic in the rocks have struck
their roots.
Since the hour their first shoots budded many years have
passed away,
Yet their trunks are firm and solid and they reckon not of
decay.
Oh, fathers of our people, our country's stay and light
With all its choicest blessings may heaven your worth
requite.
Though your brows be seamed with wrinkles and your
hair and eyebrows grey,
May you live for many years yet, strong and healthy
still, we pray.
May the fame of all your virtues to succeeding ages shine,
And your sons and grandsons' grandsons still perpetuate
your line."

²⁹ 雀梁 near Jung-yang-hsien 榮陽縣 Honan.

³⁰ 榮水 south of the city of Jung-yang-hsien.

On the day *ting-shu*, in the second month of autumn, the emperor conducted a deer chase in the forest and feasted among the Mêng-shih³¹ where he was entertained with the dancing of four pairs of white storks. He returned to Ch'iao-liang for the night.

It was the last month of the autumn, on the day *hsin-ssü*, when the emperor reviewed his soldiers in . . . lai,³² attended by the *yü* [officers] in succession.

Birds appeared in the first month of the winter, so the emperor ordered his officials to supply him with bows and arrows.

On *ting-yu* of the following month the emperor went out hunting and captured four hundred and twenty elks, muntjacs, boars, and deer, two tigers and nine wolves. He stayed in Shên-kuan³³ and ordered the victims to be prepared for an offering to his royal ancestors.³⁴

On the day *mou-hsü*, the emperor traveled westward and conducted a chase in the [forest]. It was a time when the leaves of the trees had fallen and the grass and bushes were scarce. He ordered the people under the land officers to chop down the trees and clear away the bushes which he gave them for fuel and other purposes. While the people were engaged in their work the emperor went to Ping³⁵ where he played at chess with Duke Ching. On the third day of the game the Ho [River] overflowed its banks and the gap was not filled up until the day *hsin-ch'ou*.³⁶

When the hot summer days had passed away, he returned to his tower and stayed there to attend to the government of the empire. He also examined the population of the border states, looking for clever men who were identified and recorded in books.³⁷

³¹ 孟氏 The locality is some 31 *li* west of what is now Yen-shih-hsien 偃師縣 Honan.

³² 口來.

³³ 深藿.

³⁴ [" . . . and then ordered the cooks to roast the meat." Apud Eitel.—Editor.]

³⁵ 鄆 pronounced like 丙, a city belonging to the Chêng State on the northwest of the Jung Pond 榮澤.

³⁶ [For the sequence of these two sentences see also Eitel, *loc. cit.* "On that day, the Son of Heaven proceeded northward and entered (the city of) Ping, where he played with the Duke of Tsing a game of chess which lasted three days before the game was decided. On Sin-ch'eu (910th day), a stockade having been erected. . . ."—Editor.]

³⁷ [The translator here makes the best of a badly mutilated text.—Editor.]

It . . . the emperor was very much pleased and ordered a tower to be built which he named Fan-t'ai,³⁸ and here he came for pleasure.

A tiger was crouching under a bush when the emperor drew near. Kao Pên-jung, a member of the seven regiments, offered to capture the animal alive. He did it successfully and presented the victim unhurt. The emperor ordered a cage to be made for the wild animal, and that it be kept in the Eastern Yü, which he called the "Tiger Jail." The emperor rewarded the hero with ten teams of four hunting horses each and a set of sacrificial animals [which consisted of an ox, a sheep and a pig]. Kao Pên-jung accepted the prize kneeling before the emperor and touching his head to the ground several times.

On the day *ping-shên*, the emperor spent his time in the northern forest.

In the second month of the autumn, on the day *chia-hsü*, the emperor travelled eastward. He arrived at Ch'iao-liang, where he sunned his books eaten by worms in Yü-lin.³⁹

[On the day *chia-shên*] in the last month of the autumn, the emperor spent a night in Fang,⁴⁰ when a message came from the State of Ho⁴¹ reporting the death of Marquis Chiu.⁴² But the emperor went out hunting in the marshes of Chün-ch'iu as usual.

On the day *chia-hsü*, in the last month of the winter, the emperor travelled eastward, feasting in Liu-ch'i,⁴³ hunting in Li-hu⁴⁴ and reading in Li-ch'iu.⁴⁵

. . . presented wine to the emperor while he was enjoying the *kuang* music. Sometime before, the magic drum of the emperor had disappeared, transforming itself into a yellow snake and now it sounded from under the ground. Therefore, the emperor planted in this region

³⁸范臺.

³⁹羽林.

⁴⁰ [Eighteen characters are here omitted by the translator 畢人告戎曰陸翟來侵天子使孟愈如畢討戎 translated by Eitel, *loc. cit.* as "The people of Pih brought a complaint against the Jung (tribe), stating that the Tsun-tih (branch of the Jung tribe) had stealthily attacked them. The Son of Heaven commissioned Mang-yü to proceed to Pih and to punish the Jung."—*Editor.*]

⁴¹霍 A small state of the Ch'un-ch'iu period. The locality is the present Ho-chou 霍州 Shansi.

⁴²舊

⁴³留祈.

⁴⁴麗虎.

⁴⁵鞠丘, 鞠 is an ancient form of 黎. The hill is situated 20 li north of what is now Yü-ch'êng-hsien 虞城縣 Honan.

parasol trees which furnished good material for making powerful drums, weapons⁴⁶ and musical instruments.

The emperor rowed on the Yellow Pond⁴⁷ [to the East] and spent a night at the bend of the Lo river. He ordered his followers to play a melody [Fei] while he sang the following song:—

"O, Yellow Pond
The horses have disturbed Thy sand,
Glory and Power attend the Royal Family."

"O, Yellow Pond
The horses have disturbed Thy jade,
Old Age and Happiness attend the Royal Family!"

On the day *p'ing-shên*, the emperor travelled southward spending some time in Huang.⁴⁸ He then ascended the T'ai-shih Mountain⁴⁹ and paid a visit to the Palace of the Emperor Ch'i⁵⁰ of the Hsia dynasty in which he offered sacrifice to the ancient emperor.

The emperor inquired by means of divination if it would be fortunate to have a hunt in P'ing-tsê.⁵¹ The diagram of divination turned out to be *sung*.⁵² Fêng Kung was asked by the emperor to explain the result of the inquiry and the Duke replied:

"The explanation of *sung* is as follows:—Green are the marshes in the pond . . . which is a sign of uprightness and justice. Therefore a military campaign

⁴⁶ [Cf. Eitel 戎, "Jung (tribe)."—Editor.]

⁴⁷ 黃澤 situated 5 li northwest of Nei-huang-hsien 內黃縣 Honan. The pond has no water now.

⁴⁸ 黃 A small city near the Yellow Pond.

⁴⁹ 太室山 also called Sung-shan 嵩山 the sacred mountain of central China, situated to the north of Têng-fêng-hsien 登封縣 Honan.

⁵⁰ 夏后啟 The second emperor of the Hsia dynasty (2205?-1766?), successor of the Great Emperor Yü, who drained the great flood and restored peace and prosperity to China.

⁵¹ 萍澤 pronounced like 餅. The pond is also called Fêng-tsê 蓬澤 and is situated on the northeast of the present city of K'ai-fêng, Honan.

⁵² 訟 Chinese divination is a very interesting though complicated process. It is fully recorded in the *Book of Changes*. The eight fundamental divining marks are said to have been invented by Fu-hsi, 伏羲, the first of the five legendary emperors. They are:



These are subsequently multiplied to sixty-four double forms, and on them are based the speculations, which are supposed to have been written by Wen-wang 文王 about (?) 1109 B.C. The diagram "*sung*" is one of the double forms, a combination of the first and the sixth of the eight single forms.

will be victorious; a sacrifice beneficial; and a hunting trip rewarded."

The emperor thanked him with a cup of wine and rewarded him with sixteen good horses, thirty cases of silk and cloth. Fêng Kung accepted the gifts by kneeling before the emperor and touching his head to the ground several times.

The emperor again asked Shih Hu,⁵³ the diviner, to give his opinion of the diagram and the latter replied:

"The day will be dark and rainy, because all the gods are busy. It is called a day of 'double cloudiness.'"

On hearing this, the emperor cancelled his trip. The day did become bitterly cold because the north wind blew and rain and snow fell. Many people were frozen to death. The emperor composed a poem of three verses to express his sympathy and sorrow for his people. The poem runs as follows:

"I travel in the Yellow Bamboo region,⁵⁴

From whence God hath withheld the nine warmths of Heaven,
And snow brings bitter cold.

O, my lords and princes, my officials and ministers,
Grieve for these millions of mine

And forget them not from morning until night!

I travel in the Yellow Bamboo region,

From whence God hath withheld the nine warmths of Heaven,
And snow brings bitter cold.

O, my lords and princes, my officials and ministers,
Grieve for these millions of mine

And lessen their difficulties from morning until night!

I see a white stork

Flying away happily in the sky.

O, my lords and princes, my officials and ministers,
Grieve for these millions of mine

Who have been deprived of joy and happiness,
Remove them to a prosperous land

Where they will enjoy peace and prosperity!"

And he continued, saying:—

"I am bad and vicious, doing what a Son of Heaven ought not to do. I am to blame. O, why should my people be tortured?"

The emperor then spent the night in this region and he dreamed of Yi⁵⁵ shooting in T'u-shan.⁵⁶ Chi Fu was

⁵³ 史狐.

⁵⁴ 黄竹 The name of a place.

⁵⁵ 羿 The god of the bow and arrow in Chinese mythology. According to the *Classic of Hills and Seas* 山海經, Yi was sent down from heaven with these weapons to save the people of the world from death and destruction. It is very natural that the emperor would dream of him when he was planning how to save his people from cold and hunger.

⁵⁶ 塗山

summoned to explain the dream. . . .

. . . . the emperor spent a night in Ch'ü-shan.⁵⁷

On the day *jen-shên*, the emperor ascended Ch'ü-shan on the west. . . . He went westward crossing over the Chiu-o Mountain⁵⁸ and spent the night in Tan-huang⁵⁹ to the south of the mountain.

On the day *mou-yin*, the emperor travelled westward ascending the Yang Mountain⁶⁰ and passing through Ling-shan⁶¹ where he played at chess with Duke Ching. After the game, he rode on a deer's back and wandered up the mountain where he had a stone tablet made for the ancestral temple. From Tien-ling,⁶² he then proceeded southward to the bank of the Tou River.⁶³

On the auspicious day *ting-hai*, the emperor returned to Nan-chêng.

CHAPTER VI.

The emperor visited the palace of an ancient king and there he engraved upon the rocks for future generations the nine principles governing the recognition of a good man¹ which had been handed down to him from his ancestors.

On the day *chi-ssü*, the emperor wandered southward and stayed in Chieh-t'ai.² On *hsin-wei* he went out trapping animals in the meadow with ropes. While the sport was at its height one of the six deer drawing his chariot broke loose and ran away. The emperor chased after it on the back of Ch'ü-huang. And so, he named the place Wu-lu³. . . .

⁵⁷ 曲山.

⁵⁸ 九阿.

⁵⁹ 丹黃.

⁶⁰ 陽山 Also called Huo-yang Mountain 霍陽山, situated by the Nu River in Honan.

⁶¹ 靈山 A mountain south of the Yang Mountain.

⁶² 震鈴 pronounced like 巔零, a plateau situated in P'ing-lu-hsien 平陸縣 in Shansi.

⁶³ 涇水, 涇 pronounced like 脛. It flows northeast of the city of Nei-ch'êng-hsien 芮城縣, Shansi.

CHAPTER VI

¹ The nine principles can be found recorded in the *Ta-tai Li-chi* 大戴禮記. People are advised to pay attention to the following outstanding characteristics: (1) unpretentious, but thoughtful; (2) kind, but reasonable; (3) straightforward and loyal; (4) filial and judicious; (5) upright in all conduct; (6) helping others whole-heartedly; (7) sacred and pure; (8) conscientious and thoughtful; (9) energetic and critical.

² 涇臺.

³ 五鹿 meaning "five deer."

The emperor feasted on the bank of the T'a River.⁴ The cook prepared a dish of venison and presented it to his royal master, who was very much pleased with it and named the place Kan.⁵

On the day *kuei-yu*, the emperor made a sacrifice of a white deer to the God of the T'a River. A feast was spread on the meadow west of the appointed ground, while the *kuang* music was played in full tones. And so, the emperor named the place *Yo-jen*.⁶

On the day *chia-hsü*, the emperor wandered on to the northwest

Lady Shêng, daughter of the Earl of Shêng,⁷ and of a distinguished family, was highly respected by the emperor, who loved her above all ladies in the court. He had a tower built for her which he called the Double Jade Tower.⁸ She accompanied the emperor on his travels.

But unfortunately, on the day *mou-yin*, when the emperor was busy trapping animals in the marshes, the lady caught cold. The emperor spent the night by the water with her, but her sickness became worse. The emperor expressed his pity by naming the place Han-shih.⁹

Lady Shêng was thirsty, and the emperor sent a man for a drink immediately, so the place was named Hu-chüan.¹⁰

When they returned to the Double Jade Tower on the west, Lady Shêng's sickness grew worse [and she died]. The emperor was deeply grieved so he named the place Ai-tz'ü.¹¹ Her body was laid in a coffin in the temple at Ku-ch'iu.¹²

On the day *jen-yin*, an order was issued that a mourning ceremony was to be held. The chief mourners [were the prince I Hu¹³ and] the eldest princess Yung Tso,¹⁴ assisted by Chi Fu and the emperor himself, and they took charge of the ceremony from the beginning to the end. Mournfully the sacrifice was made to the spirit of the dead, and they wept during the ceremony. The official historian was present with his script, and so were the

⁴ 漂 pronounced like 沓.

⁵ 甘 meaning "delicious."

⁶ 樂人 meaning "musician."

⁷ 盛 A small state, situated in what is now Yen-chou 兗州 Shantung. The state of Lu 魯國.

⁸ 重璧臺 Chung-pi T'ai.

⁹ 寒氏, i.e., the Lady of the Cold.

¹⁰ 壺輶, i.e., to hurry forward with a wine vessel.

¹¹ 哀次, meaning "the place of sadness."

¹² 穀丘.

¹³ 伊扈, not stated here but as indicated below.

¹⁴ 叔姬 pronounced like 癡癡.

officials attending to their own duties. Tsêng, the sacrificial officer, was in charge of the sacrificial tables on which he spread offerings such as meat soup, raw meat, dry meat, minced meat, dates, millet gruel, cold porridge, dry fish, scallions and a hundred other things. There were twelve bowls¹⁵ of raw meat and raw fish, ninety dishes¹⁶ of cooked meat and forty *ting*,¹⁷ *tun*,¹⁸ *hu*¹⁹ and *tsun*²⁰ of hot food and wine.

Tsêng, the sacrificial officer, began offering the sacrifice by presenting the soup and the wine to the chief mourner, I Hu, who received them with a bow and presented them to the spirit of the dead. The ladies also presented their offerings to the chief lady mourner, Yung Tso, who performed the ceremonies as had I Hu. The sacrificial officer then gave some of the wine to the court musicians.²¹

Then the two chief mourners ascended from their posts and began to weep, followed by everybody present. The court historian read his script and wept. Tsêng, the sacrificial officer, offered the sacrifice with two hands and wept. The *yü*²² offered the bowl, the *kang*²³ offered the wine and the *tso*²⁴ presented the basin of water. They all wept while helping to clothe and decorate the body of the dead. The musicians wept as they were arranging the musical instruments of *ch'in*, *sê*, *shêng*, *yü*, *yo*, *tí* and *kuan*.²⁵ Every artisan and every official attended to his duty and wept.

¹⁵ 俎 pronounced *tsu*.

¹⁶ 豆 pronounced *tou*.

¹⁷ 鼎 A tripod or cauldron with three feet, used in sacrifice.

¹⁸ 敦 A sacrificial dish shaped like a basin.

¹⁹ 壺 A wine vessel or pot.

²⁰ 尊 A wine vessel or cup, used in sacrifice.

²¹ 太師 pronounced *t'ai shih*.

²² 御者 Those who bathe the body of the dead.

²³ 抗者 Those who clothe the body of the dead.

²⁴ 佐者 Those who help to dress the body of the dead.

²⁵ *Ch'in* 琴 a lute having seven strings; *sê* 瑟 an instrument like a large lute, differing from the *ch'in* in having cords strung on bridges to tighten them. It has 50, 25, 15, or 5 silken strings according to its size. *Shêng* 笙 an instrument of the organ type, composed of 13 dissimilar reeds inserted in a gourd, with a bent blow tube; the music is made by inhaling the air through the reeds. *Yü* 竽 an ancient reed organ like the *shêng* having 36 tubes meeting in a gourd and blown through the mouth piece. *Yo* 簫 a flute. *Tí* 篳 a fife. *Kuan* 篳 pronounced like 管, an instrument made by putting two *tí* together.

It is said that men and women mourners danced as they wept and the ceremony ended after they had performed nine dances.

I Hu, the chief mourner, retired from the house of assembly still weeping. The old and the young of the royal family and the officials followed him. The assistants wept as they were putting away the offerings and the sacrificial vessels. Everyone attended to his own duties and was still weeping when he came out. [Duke] Ching-li came out last because he had to attend to the completion of the ceremony and see that everything was in order.

On the day *kuei-mao*, a grand mourning and a sacrifice was carried out according to the *Shang*²⁶ system, and the coffin was then placed on a carriage.

On the day *chia-shên*, the emperor proceeded southward to bury his love to the south of the Happy Pond.²⁷ The funeral, by order of the emperor, was carried out like that of an empress. He sent no message asking for the attendance of the feudal princes at the ceremony, and the procession was formed only of the people who lived along the Ho [River]. The people of the cities of Wei, Ku and Huang²⁸ drew the carriage in which the soldiers of the seven regiments had placed the coffin. The procession started out with Tsêng, the sacrificial officer in front of the column, then the court artisans²⁹ driving the sacred carriage, then the multitude bearing the flags of the sun and the moon and the banners of the seven stars of the northern sky.

The drums and the bells were sounded as the coffin was lowered into the grave and the dragon flags were raised as it reached the bottom of the pit. The drums were beaten to the waving of bird flags, the bells were sounded to the waving of animal flags, and the banners were raised to the waving of dragon flags. It is said that there were bells and banners from the head to the tail of the procession, and along the column there were arrayed all sorts of mortuary articles, which were in charge of Duke Ching.

²⁶ 殤 means an untimely death. The mourning for such a death was carried out according to the *Shang* custom.

²⁷ 樂池 A pond situated on the south of the T'a River.

²⁸ Wei 韋 a small state located in Ta-ming 大名, Hopei. Ku 穀 a small state located to the northwest of Loyang. Huang 黃: there are two cities named Huang along the Ho [River]; one is Nei Huang Ch'êng 內黃城, the other is Huang Ch'êng, 黃城. Which of the two is referred to here, is uncertain.

²⁹ 大匠.

The drums were then sounded and the procession started out. The people mourned and wept as the banners were raised and waved. They ceased weeping when the bells were rung. And the procession stopped when the flags were lowered.

It is said that following the *Shang* funeral custom the mourners wept bitterly nine times. When the procession was in progress, the chief mourner took his position in front, then the fathers, the brothers, the sons and the grandsons of the royal family, then the sons of the feudal lords and the court officials, then the foreign officials and the members of the seven regiments, then the people of the Chi family,³⁰ then the managers of the ceremony and then all the officials and the people. The mourners were arranged in seven groups and dancers in thirty files, having one hundred people in one file.

The procession of women came next. The chief mourner took her position in front, then the favourite concubines of the emperor, then the wives of the court officials and the ladies of the Chi family, then the women officials and then the rest of the concubines. There were five groups of mourners with files of dancers behind them.

It is said that the emperor ordered the people to stop weeping at every *li* by the ringing of bells. It is also said that the court artisans wept while driving the carriage and Tsêng, the sacrificial officer, wept in front of the column while the soldiers of the seven regiments wept behind. It is said furthermore, that the mourners wept and danced three times and proceeded, stopping every five *li*.

It is said that the procession covered three *shê*,³¹ arriving at Ai-tz'ü, from whence it advanced five *shê*, arriving at the Double Jade Tower which marked the end of the journey. The emperor then ordered the people to cause the sacred carriages to circle around the Ku-yu River³² which he named Chiung-chü.³³ It is said that another sacrifice was offered to the spirit of the dead.

On the day *hsin-hai*, in the first month of winter, the Marquis of Hsing³⁴ and the Marquis of Tsao³⁵ came to mourn [for the death of the Lady Shêng]. The court historian ushered them in to see the emperor, but they

³⁰姬姓 Chi was the surname of the emperors of the Chou dynasty.

³¹舍 A *shê* is equal to 30 *li*.

³²姑蘇.

³³囿車.

³⁴ and ³⁵邢曹 Small states in Shantung.

were refused admittance on account of the emperor's illness. So they went to see the prince, who came out from the gate of the ancestral temple weeping to receive the Marquis of Hsing. He bowed many times thanking them for their coming, but the guests dared not bow in return.

The prince wept on re-entering the temple, taking his seat on the west. The court historian stood facing north to assist in the ceremony. The Marquis of Hsing followed them into the sacred hall also weeping. The ceremony was performed with bitter weeping nine times, and with dancing three times. They retired from the hall and the prince dismissed his guest by bowing to him several times.

Then came the Marquis of Tsao who also entered the temple and wept, and the prince treated him as he had the other marquises.

It is said that the emperor ordered everybody to offer presents to his dead love.³⁶

On the day *kuei-ch'ou*, the bitter weeping and the dancing were continued. The next day, *chia-yin*, another *Shang* sacrifice was made. The mourners wept and the procession started out again. After travelling for five *shê*, they arrived at Ta-tz'ü,³⁷ where it is said that they rested for three days and performed a *Shang* sacrifice such as they had before.

On the day *hsin-yu*, all the mortuary objects were ready, so the burial took place on the next day, *jen-hsü*. A biography of Lady Shêng was written in vermillion and placed in the grave. Drums and bells were sounded

³⁶ [This sentence is a vague paraphrase of some 60 characters which Eitel, *loc. cit.*, translates thus:

"On Jan-tsz (1181st day), the Son of Heaven assembled his officials for an audience to be given to the Marquis of Ying and to the Marquis of Ts'ao. When the Son of Heaven was coming back (from the mourning shed to the temple), the Marquis of Ying and the Marquis of Ts'ao, having performed the ceremony of touching (the bier), went into the presence (of the Son of Heaven) and made their obeisances. . . . At the audience, the Son of Heaven requested both the Marquis of Ying and the Marquis of Ts'ao to return to their respective countries. The officials of the royal princes performed the ceremony of touching (the bier) together with the two Marquises and in accordance with the ancient rites. *Note.* The Son of Heaven issued a decree concerning (the ceremonies to be observed in) the case of presentations of grave clothes."—*Editor.*]

³⁷ 大次 "the Graveyard."

as the coffin was lowered. During the ceremony, the members of the seven regiments and all men and women wept and danced.

In the grey light of morning the emperor ordered his concubines to present nine suits of coloured silk clothes; the chief male mourner, I Hu, a garment; and the chief female mourner, Yung Tso, a silk mattress. When every concubine and every official had offered a present, Duke Ching put these in the grave in an orderly fashion, and reported his work to the office in the Graveyard.

. . . When the burial was finished the emperor ordered everybody to stop weeping. He conferred on Lady Shêng the posthumous title "Ai-shu-jen," [the Pitiful Virtuous Lady]. Soil was then heaped on the grave and it was called the Mount of the Virtuous Lady. After this the emperor returned.

On the day *Yi-ch'ou*, the emperor went eastward stopping at Wu-lu, where Yung Tso was sad and inclined to weep, so he named the place the Mount of Lady Tso.

On the day *ting-mao*, the emperor rode eastward and fished in the T'a River. He made sacrifice to the Virtuous Lady and named the place, the Mount of Sacrifice.³⁸

On the day *chi-ssü*, the emperor rode eastward and fed his horses on the bank of the T'a River where he planted some jujube trees and named the place the Horse Mount.³⁹

On the day *kuei-yu*, the emperor proceeded southward and arrived at Chü-t'ai.

It was the day *chia-hsü*, in the second month of the winter, that the emperor travelled westward and arrived at the domain of the Yin-tribe.⁴⁰ He fished in the River and inspected the big *ku-yu* trees⁴¹ that grew in this part of the country.

On the day *ting-ch'ou*, the emperor rode northward and spent the night of *mou-yin* on the River. He summoned the people, old and young, high and low, and all the officials of the Chi family. A *hsiang* sacrifice⁴² was then offered to the spirit of the Virtuous Lady and everybody wept during the performance. The period of

³⁸ 祭丘. ³⁹ 馬丘.

⁴⁰ 因氏 A small state near the Ho [River]. ⁴¹ 姑蘇.

⁴² 祥祠 *hsiang* means happiness. Since the death of Lady Shêng, all the ceremonies used had been mournful. The period of mourning was drawing to an end and so a sacrifice of good fortune was being offered.

morning was ended when they reached the domain of the Hsiao tribe.⁴³

On the day *chi-mao*, the emperor crossed the River, and proceeding westward arrived at the valley of the Hsiao tribe. On the day *kêng-shên*, he camped in Mao-shih⁴⁴ and made a *yin* sacrifice⁴⁵ to announce the end of the mourning. Ordinary costumes of daily life were resumed and the company returned merrily. The place was then called Su-shih.⁴⁶

[On the day *jen-hsü*, the emperor gave an audience to the Marquis of Tsao and the Marquis of Hsing. They presented themselves before the emperor each with a tiger skin. After the interview the emperor ordered them to return to their own countries and told the officials of the court to entertain them according to the usual etiquette].⁴⁷

The emperor proceeded to the southwest and arrived at Yeh-wang⁴⁸ on the day *kuei-wei*. The next day, *chia-shên*, the emperor ascended the range [of the T'ai-hang Mountain] on the north, and when he had descended from the mountain and was resting himself under two cypress trees, the thought of the Virtuous Lady came back to him. He could not forget her and tears filled his eyes. Yao Yü,⁴⁹ a member of the seven regiments, presented himself to console him saying:—

"Since most ancient times each person has had his birth and his death, and so has also the Virtuous Lady. Your Majesty is unhappy because of thinking too much of her. It is good to think about her often, but Your Majesty must not forget to find new favourites."

The emperor was deeply moved and wept bitterly. He ceased thinking about her the same day.

On the day *yi-yu*, the emperor crossed the Hsing Ridge on the west and turned southwest arriving at Yen⁵⁰ on the day *mou-tzû*.

⁴³ 霽氏.

⁴⁴ 茅尺, 尺 is miswritten for 氏.

⁴⁵ 醴祀 A pure and proper sacrifice or a sweet-smelling offering.

⁴⁶ 素氏 Su means "unornamented" or "plain."

⁴⁷ [Cf. Editor's note *supra*. This passage does not occur here in the *Ssu Pu Ts'ung K'an* Edition.]

⁴⁸ 野王 The place is in the present Ho-nei-hsien 河內縣 in Honan.

⁴⁹ 婁豫,

⁵⁰ 鹽 situated in Chieh-hsien 解縣 Shansi.

On the day *yi-ch'ou*, the emperor ascended the Tienling Ridge of Po-shan⁵¹ on the south and spent a night in Yü.⁵²

On the day *kêng-shên*, the emperor drove southward and returned to Nan-chêng on the auspicious day of *hsin-mao*.

⁵¹ 薄山 in the southern part of Shansi

⁵² 虞 A small state, situated in the present T'ai-yang-hsien
太 陽 縣 Shansi.

THE PRAJNA-PARAMITA HRIDAYA SUTRA

or "Essence of Transcendental Wisdom"
(after Hsuan Chuang, A.D. VIIIth Cent.)

Translated by SHAO-CHANG LEE

When the great Bodhisattva Aryavalokitesvara was meditating deeply on the "Perfection of Transcendental Wisdom,"

he perceived clearly that (in comparison with the ultimate Reality) the five constituents of being are all unreal and empty,

and so was saved from all kinds of suffering and misery. (Then he addressed himself to Sariputra, his disciple, saying), "O Sariputra!

"Material form is nothing but emptiness and emptiness is indeed the material form.

"So is it with conception, consciousness, action, and knowledge—all are empty and nothing.

"O Sariputra! These are but empty manifestations of the Dharma, which has no birth, nor death, nor impurity, nor purity, nor increase, nor decrease.

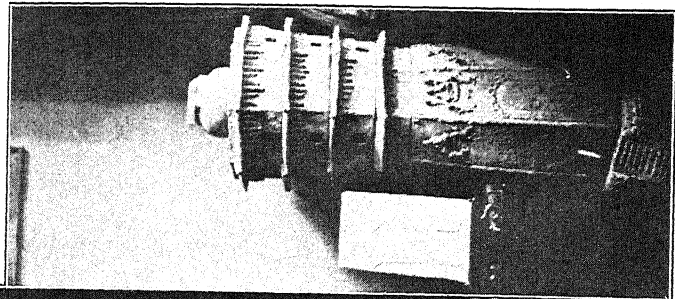
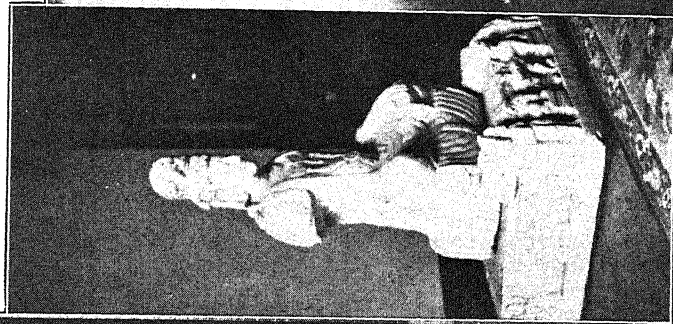
"Therefore in *emptiness* there is no material form, nor conception, nor consciousness, nor action, nor knowledge;

nor eye, ear, nose, tongue, body, idea and so there are no colors, sounds, smells, tastes, contacts, and laws; there are no worlds of vision and even no worlds of ideas and understanding;

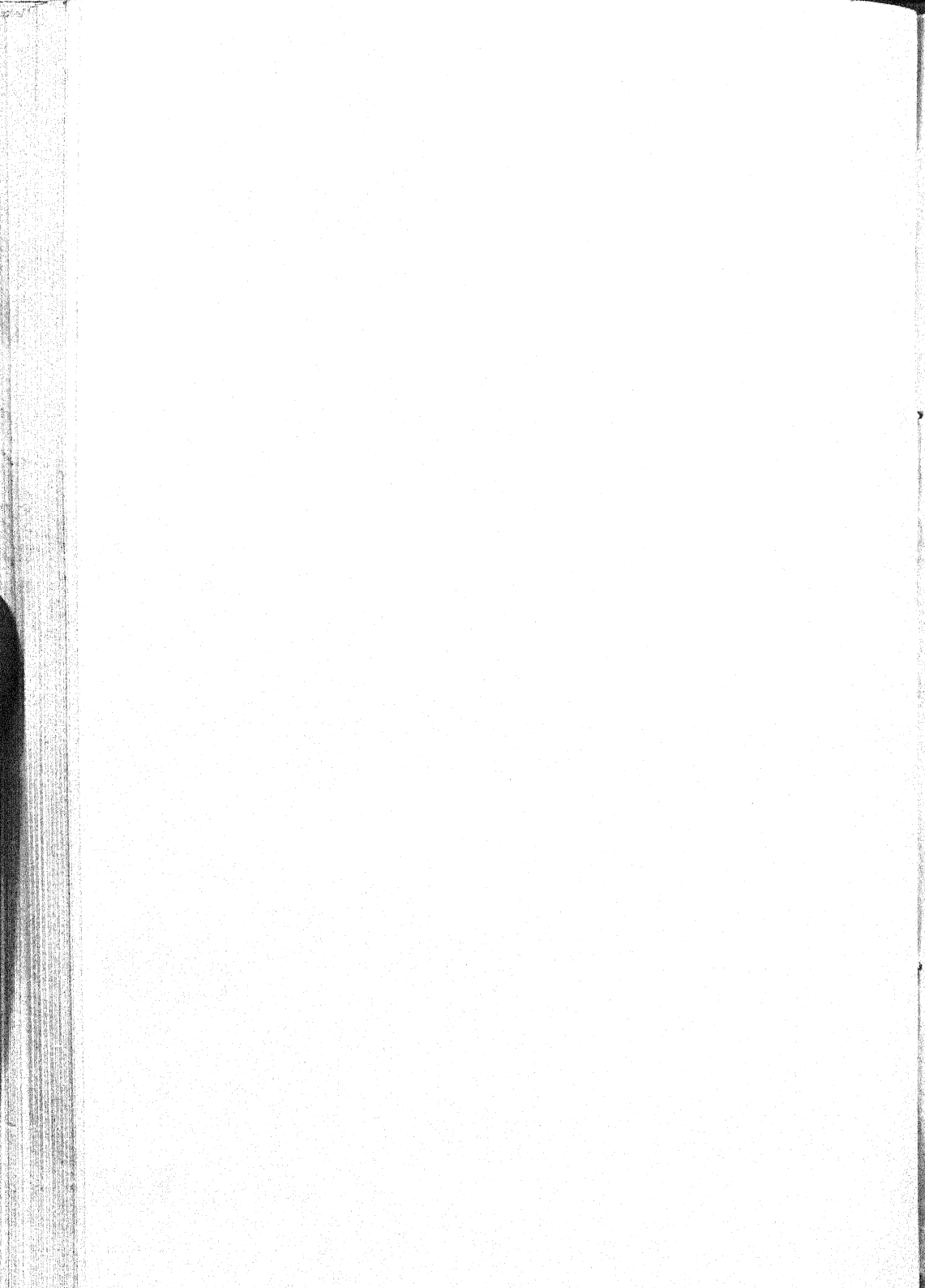
there is neither ignorance nor termination of ignorance; there is neither old age nor death; there is also neither termination of old age nor termination of death;

there is neither suffering, nor cause and effect, nor extinction, nor path of escape;

there is neither wisdom nor anything real.



Six Dynasties Buddhistic Sculptures (A.D. 5th-6th Cents.).
From the collection of Mr. Y. Suma.



"Because there is nothing real, the Bodhisattva (Wise Being) relies on *Intuitive Transcendental Wisdom* (to lead him) to the *Yonder Shore of perfect Reality*.

"Because he relies on *Intuitive Transcendental Wisdom*, his mind is freed from hindrance and obstruction.

"Because his mind is freed from hindrance and obstruction, he has neither fear nor dread; and he will go beyond perverted, perverse, dreamy thoughts to final *Nirvana*.

"The Buddhas of the past, present, and future, by relying on the *Intuitive Transcendental Wisdom*, reach the highest state of Enlightenment."

So we know that "To reach the Yonder Shore of perfect Reality through *Intuitive Transcendental Wisdom*" is a great divine *formula*, the great enlightening formula, the highest formula, the best formula, which can remove all kinds of suffering.

This is true and real; therefore, we speak of the formula — "To reach the Yonder Shore of perfect Reality through *intuitive Transcendental Wisdom*."

The formula is said thus:

"Ferry, ferry, ferry over to Yonder Shore.

Ferry all beings over to Yonder Shore,

And be quickly enlightened!"

REVIEWS OF RECENT BOOKS

China's Geographic Foundations. A Survey of the Land and Its People. By George B. Cressey. New York and London: McGraw-Hill, 1934. Pp. xvii; 436.

Dr. George B. Cressey's interestingly written and very human compilation "China's Geographic Foundations" carries us one step nearer to a comprehensively scientific appreciation of the geography of the oldest civilization extant. Dr. Cressey very aptly portrays the limitations under which one is obliged to labor in a compilation of this character in the following statement as taken from his preface:

"Despite the extensive literature listed in the Bibliography, so little is actually known about population, agriculture, resources, and regional potentialities that it will be many years before an adequate treatment will be possible. Critical geographic field studies of small areas are almost lacking. An adequate presentation of the Chinese landscape should involve an analysis of environmental factors, a study of cultural patterns and their distribution, and an appreciation of historical succession. Since these essential local studies are not available, many partially supported generalizations have been necessary, but every effort has been made to utilize all available information."

He has very wisely followed a general treatment of the subject by regional surveys. The publication is doubly valuable for the carefully prepared maps and charts, and more particularly for the tabulated statistical summaries. It is refreshing to have a reference book which represents so much detailed, up-to-date, pertinent statistical data on economic China as embodied in this volume.

The photographs as reproduced are carefully selected and should prove of particular interest to those who have not had the privilege of travelling extensively over China. They are in pleasing contrast to many of the poorly selected and antiquated illustrations used in a number of textbooks on world geography as compiled for the American public schools.

In his treatment of the subject matter, he has consistently made efforts to draw upon the rich heritage of China's history in presenting that composite background so essential to an intelligent appreciation of present day conditions and trends. In describing the natural isolation of China he makes the following very pertinent observation:

"One of the most significant geographic facts in China's modern history is her relation to the ocean. Formerly China faced to the north and west, and the Pacific was the back door. The Jade Gate, not far from the end of the Great Wall in Kansu, was the front entrance, and the contacts between Inner Asia and the northwestern provinces played a dominant role in the history of the country. Today all this has changed. China has turned about face and now fronts on the Pacific."

China is so full of complexities and contradictions that it is difficult to make an attempt to describe it without also becoming involved in contradictory statements. For instance, on page 10 Dr. Cressey makes the following statement:

"The westernization of China, whether for good or bad, is sharply limited to portions of certain cities along the seacoast or navigable waterways, or those served by the few railways. Vast areas continue to live as in the days of the Ming dynasty. It is these contrasts in cultural development which make generalizations about China so unsafe and help to render the political tasks of the government so complex."

On the other hand, in the chapter on "Farmers of Forty Centuries," one is undoubtedly given quite the contrary impression by the paragraph which reads:

"The pattern of China's agricultural life is changing. Transportation by rail and river steamer is opening interior markets and displacing the old local farm and industrial organization. The farmer is beginning to find himself in a new social and economic order where his present methods, however adequate for his ancestors, are no longer in adjustment with his new world neighbors. The cloth, baskets, and shoes which were once made in spare moments on the farm are now produced in the cities. The peanuts, eggs and cotton which once did not travel beyond the nearest market village are now exported to foreign countries whose names the producer does not even know. Education and social changes are slowly bringing new ideals and wants."

China is undoubtedly becoming modernized far more rapidly than mere superficial appearances throughout the country would lead one to believe. While there are approximately ten million children of school age under instruction, out of a probable eighty million, yet China's educational system has during the past few decades been revolutionized. Today one finds modern textbooks, including illustrated readers, in use throughout the country. Furthermore, as expanding railways, highways, and airways are coming in

closer touch with the people of the interior, their outlook is naturally being broadened. However, I fear that Dr. Cressey's contention that "cloth, baskets and shoes which were once made in spare moments on the farms are now produced in the cities" is not intended to be taken literally. It is true this transition is gradually becoming realized, but the word "gradually," in this sense, should be triply underscored. In fact the outstanding impressive factor in present day China is its domestic handicraft industry, which is an exceedingly important contributory element in the economic life of the Chinese farmer.

Cressey's portrayal of the interesting contrast between north and south China is very impressive, but I believe he over-stresses the supposed wide difference in culture and ideals between the northern and southern Chinese. The cultural ideals of the Chinese people throughout the length and breadth of the vast territory which they occupy were developed around that uniquely remarkable institution, the civil service examination, as based upon the teachings of the ancient sages and which persisted for nearly two thousand years without serious alterations. It was democratic. Its favors extended to practically all classes in society and to all sections of the country. It served as a safety valve for the ambitions of the individual. Success in these examinations led to the highest honors Chinese society could confer upon its members, namely official positions, because these honors were reserved for this exclusive fraternity of successful scholars. It served admirably as reinforcing material holding the Chinese together politically and socially throughout all these centuries. The manner in which it was administered was particularly helpful in militating against the splitting off of any one section into a thoroughly independent country. The stipulation that no official was permitted to hold an office in his native province proved to be a very clever device aimed to discourage the redevelopments of a feudalistic society. It certainly went a long way toward preventing the setting up of independent political units.

Dr. Cressey aptly cites F. J. Goodnow's appellation "vegetable civilization" as descriptive of China's agricultural foundation. In his statement: "All parts of China are essentially filled to their capacity under available methods of production," I fear he has not given sufficient consideration to the probable effects upon China of the developments of economic internal communications, more efficient methods of marketing and distribution and improvements in irrigation and in rural credits, not to mention the benefits to be derived from a wider use of the country's mineral resources. In my opinion, the author is entirely too sweeping in his contention that the pressure of population is so insistent that all usable land is everywhere under cultivation.

Some modern writers on the resources of China seem to take delight in pointing out that the country's mineral wealth has been sadly overrated. Dr. Cressey is apparently no exception: "It is now clearly evident that China is not highly mineralized and her world rank is that of a minor nation. The available reserves are such that a great development may take place compared with the present, but there seems little possibility that China will ever rival the industrial area of eastern North America or western Europe." Elsewhere he makes the comment: "Enormous stores of coal are present and there is no lack of limestone, but in the absence of iron it is difficult to see how industry can develop." In the next paragraph appears the statement: "Resources of coal form the key to industrial supremacy and the political distribution of the world's supply is a vital matter." In his concluding observation on China's resources in coal he offers the following interesting comment: "Since China's ultimate coal supply is enormous, amounting to several thousand pounds per person, it is clear that there is enough to last for a very long period of time. It is quite probable that the rate of use will increase greatly before the end of the century, but on any basis of prediction China may use all the coal she wishes for several centuries."

As much progress as has been made in the past in America in geological surveys, it is only within the past few decades that its great resources in petroleum in the west were discovered. It would seem that writers in commenting upon China's mineral resources, thus far so poorly developed or sadly neglected, would be more in keeping with the realities of the situation were they to maintain a reserve as to the actual estimates of the country's mineral wealth until more conclusive surveys have been made. They would do well to point out the possible value to the country of such resources as are known to exist. It is well also to bear in mind that the world of science and invention is constantly producing interesting surprises in substitutes for this or that commodity. It is not unusual to read of predictions that the world will some day draw its heat from the sun. One of the difficulties besetting present day England is the greatly lessened demand in the shipping world for coal. Petroleum products have so thoroughly replaced coal in the operation of ships that the coal miners of England are suffering. The day may come when coal may be far more valuable in the chemical industries than as a fuel. It seems quite likely that China possesses considerable resources in petroleum which may prove far vaster than many writers seem to portend. Thus, rather than to place emphasis on the likelihood of China's mineral resources having been overestimated, it would seem that it might be more to the point and a safer course of procedure to emphasize the comparative little

use that this "vegetable civilization" has thus far made of its mineral wealth.

Dr. Cressey does well to emphasize the significance of the fact that although China is fundamentally agricultural and, for this reason, should be expected to become an exporter, rather than an importer, of food products; yet its imports of cereals have risen from three per cent. of the total in 1913 to sixteen per cent. in 1932. This situation may, however, be changed with a better balanced economy, a subject which is at present engaging the attention of leaders in this country.

It is unfortunate that Dr. Cressey did not have available at the time of the publication of his book later statistics than those for the year 1931 concerning China's foreign trade. He would have found from these data that America, rather than Japan, enjoys the distinction of being foremost among the foreign nations in its trade with China.

The latter half of the book is devoted to regional surveys embracing all the territory included in what is known as "the greater China," and not excluding Manchuria. To the student already possessed of a general knowledge of the geography and economics of China as a whole, the well-assembled, carefully compiled and very interesting detailed material contained in these chapters is of great value. Properly to understand the geography of China, it is very necessary to make a careful study of the country regionally. Dr. Cressey's treatment of the subject probably affords one a better opportunity for doing this than any other compilation thus far published. His carefully compiled statistical summary of the regional areas, his very extensive bibliographical references and his excellent physiographic diagram of the twenty-eight Provinces of China furnish admirable reference material for both the scientist and the economist interested in China.

The Shanghai Evening Post and Mercury in a review of Dr. Cressey's book summarizes its appraisal of the publication very aptly in the following words: "All this is valuable as reference material for its factual value, but it is even more valuable for the humanitarian and fundamentally civilized concept with which it is handled."

JULEAN ARNOLD.

Nationalism and Education in Modern China. By Cyrus H. Peake, Sometime Cutting Travelling Fellow, Columbia University; Lecturer in Chinese in Columbia University. New York. Columbia University Press, 1932. Pp. xiv, 240. Appendices I and II. Bibliography. Notes. Index.

Not a few Western writers have heretofore marked the rising tide of nationalism in China. The author of this book is, however, the first, so far as the reviewer is aware, to have made a detailed inquiry with a view to determining the degree to which the new nationalism has been a factor in shaping modern education. The results of previous studies by American and European visitors into educational policies at various stages in China's recent history, official documents issued by the Chinese government, writings of present-day Chinese authors in western languages, and certain current periodicals, have all been freely drawn upon for facts. A trip to China during the academic year of 1928-1929 supplied further facilities for gathering information. The author's approach has been an objective one and his work has been done in a scholarly fashion.

Beginning with the period immediately preceding the Sino-Japanese war of 1894, Professor Peake finds signs as long as forty years ago of a consciousness on the part of a few Chinese officials that to be successful in international relations China must develop a modern army and navy and that educational policies must be directed to this end. Not until after that war, however, and in fact not until after the war of 1904 when Japan defeated Russia, did this objective take a large place in governmental thinking. The author traces the growth of the influence of this objective from the "hundred-day reforms" of 1898, into the reactionary days of the Boxer Uprising, and during the opening decade of the Twentieth Century with its experimentation with imported methods of controlled educational policies, and finally throughout the first nineteen years of checkered fortune in the life of the Republic of China. Despite the many changes which have taken place in government, the author finds a consistent and growing emphasis on the part of each successive regime on the basic principles that China's educational program must be determined in the light of her need for military and naval preparedness, and that the only effective way whereby such preparedness can be assured is through a process of educational indoctrination designed to produce a spirit of racial pride and aggressive patriotism. He calls attention to a keen interest in all movements which have resulted anywhere in the world in creating trends in mass psychology favourable to the achievement of nationalistic aims; this interest had led to a study of the educational systems of many lands, especially of Japan, Germany, France, America, Italy, Great Britain, and latterly of Russia. Each such study has made its contribution, sometimes an ephemeral one, to the determination of points of emphasis in the ever-changing educational policies of China, and text-books have in consequence been written and re-written many times. In illustration of the latter point some thirty-five pages (Appendix I) are

devoted to copious notes on a selected list of forty-eight text-books used in mass education and in the primary and middle schools of China during the past twenty-five years.

The book, though not a large one, is full of well-correlated information. The author has done his work thoroughly and has stated the reasons for his conclusions in cogent terms.

The Curator of the Chinese collection at Columbia University during the years 1930-1932 is credited in the Preface with having given generously of his time towards the preparation of the list of Chinese characters contained in Appendix II. It is regrettable that with help from such a quarter the glossary should be as incomplete as it is. In fact, in an otherwise carefully documented book, the blemish becomes conspicuous. I am supplying below the romanized names and titles which I have found, in one reading of the text, to have been omitted from the list in Appendix II. The numeral in parenthesis after each name or title indicates the page on which it seems first to appear.

Chang Yin-huan (35); Ch'ên Chu-shan (160); Ch'ên Hsiu-ying (8); Chêng Mou-chün (136); Chiao Yu Pu (72); Ching Ku-ch'ang (8); Ch'ing—the dynasty (40); Chou—the administrative unit (42); Chou Fu-ju (167); Fu, D. C. (160); Fu Lin (169); Han Lu-ch'ing (6); Ho Mei-sun (32); Hsiao—term for "school" (75); Hsien Tai Ch'ü Chung Chiao K'ê Shu Pên Kuo Ti Li (193); Hsin Chung Hua Chiao K'ê Shu San Min Chu I (178); Hsin Min I Yin Shu Chü (52); Hsin Shih Hsiu Shên Chiao K'ê Shu (172); Hsin Shih Tai Shih Chieh Shih Chiao K'ê Shu (166); Hsü Ching-t'êng (20); Hsü Shih-ch'ang (146); Hu Han-min (136); Jung Lu (35); Kao Pu-ying (58); Kao Yang (173); Ku Chieh-kang (166); Ku Shu-lin (174); Kung Ho Kuo Chiao K'ê Shu Hsin Ti Li (191); Kuo Tzŭ Chien (1); Li—term for "virtue and talent" (39); Li Chin-hsi (231); Li Kuan-ch'ing (115); Li Yüan-hung (146); Liu K'un-shu (108); Nan Yang (95); Pahung, Lofee (117); Shih—term for "scholar" (38); Tai Chi-t'ao (136); T'ang—term for "school" (75); Tsu Wu (38); Tsung Chiao Hsi—term for "head teacher" (32); Tu Chi (191); Wang Chung-ch'í (166); Wang En-chüeh (166); Wên Tien (116); Yen, W. W. (56); Yen, Y. C. James (75); Yüan Fang-chün (172); Yung Ch'ing (47); and Zia Hong-lai (190).

DAVID WILLARD LYON.

Outline of Yin Bone Inscriptions, *Yin Ch'í T'ung Shih* (殷契通釋).
By Hsü Hsieh-chên. Peiping: Liu Li Ch'ang Wên Chieh Chai
(北平琉璃廠文楷齋), 1933. 6 Volumes. Price Mex.\$12.00.

The author of this new book on bone inscriptions, Mr. Hsü Hsieh-chên, was formerly the Director of the Historical Museum of Peking. In this work Mr. Hsü has started a line of investigation different from that established by Lo Chên-yü and Wang Kuo-wei whom he criticises most severely. He blames them for taking individual ideographs and guessing their meanings without making a comparative study of sentences of similar construction. As a result it happens that when their conjecture of the meaning of an ideograph fits in with one inscription it is found unacceptable in another. The chief merit of this work is that in every instance the author has tried to collect as many examples of sentences of the same construction as possible in support of his conclusions. It seems to me important that western scholars should know the views of Mr. Hsü as well as those of Mr. Lo which I gave in my article "Recent Books by a Chinese Scholar" in Vol. L, 1919, of this *Journal*. This book cannot be dismissed as an extravaganza.

There are two important hypotheses which formed the basis of this work. One is that during the Yin period the whole country was composed of a countless number of tribes. The Yin dynasty was but the most powerful tribe which had influence over all the rest. It was quite different from the later type of a highly organized government under the Chous which had control over the whole land. These tribes are called *fang* (方) and are dealt with in the first three volumes called "Numerous Tribes"—*To Fang P'ien* (多方篇). This discovery of the tribes is of primary importance, for it is the basis on which the author explains as totems (標識) many ideographs, which have bothered Lo and Wang and all the scholars of their school. These totems, when the tribes were scattered during the Chou dynasty, were preserved by their members and became the surnames (姓) of later ages.

The other hypothesis is that the oracle bones belong to the stone age. This claim is made on the ground that the author has not found in bone inscriptions the character for metal nor a single ideograph with a metal radical. At this stage of human history group marriage (羣婚) and cannibalism were prevalent. The author, therefore, has concluded that in all sacrifices, which formed the great majority of the occasions for divination, the victims were persons from the different tribes and not animals as they have commonly been believed to be. This is discussed in the second three volumes of the book under Rites and Sacrifices (儀祭篇).

In volume one the author discusses the various tribes of the Yin period. The most important factor in the bone inscriptions is the names of the tribes. When human beings were to be sacrificed the names of several tribes were listed in one inscription. They have no other meaning than to indicate that persons from these tribes were used. The author tries to prove that these names were

those of tribes by quoting early names in geography as well as surnames of noted persons of later ages. He has been able to identify many of these tribes with the mythical names preserved in the *Shan Hai Ching*, such as the *Wu Ch'ang Kuo* (無腸國) and the *Hsi Wang Mu Kuo* (西王母國). This latter state, according to the author, was probably a tribe with a female chief and its territory was somewhere around Kotan where jade was found, for the Bamboo Books record presents of jade from Hsi Wang Mu to Huang Ti and Shun. The tribal name fang (方) is still attached to some surnames in Japan at the present time, such as 加藤方姓, 大島方姓 etc. The Japanese (倭), according to this author, were one of the tribes of the Yin period and later migrated to the islands. He goes further and claims that many races of the Far East have their origin in the Yin tribes, such as Ta Shih (大食), Ta Hsia (大夏), Ta Wan (大宛), Hsiung Nu (匈奴), Hui (濊), Mo (貊), Su Shên (廬慎), Fu Yü (扶餘), Yüeh Chih (月支), Ch'ao Hsien (朝鮮), and also the Shên Mu Kuo (深目國) which can be identified as the Germans who migrated to Europe.

The Yin people had no reverence for God and the ideograph *tì* (帝) as found in the bone inscriptions does not carry the meaning of Heaven but simply the name of a certain tribe. There was no sacrifice offered to Heaven and the ideograph *, which has been taken by the Lo Wang school as meaning a sacrifice to Heaven, was either the name of a tribe or a sacrifice to their ancestors. Nor did the early Yins have any idea of such matrimonial relations as wife (妻) and concubine (妾). The ideograph which has been recognized as *ch'ieh* (妾) is, according to the author, the totem of a tribe and this totem resembles in shape the present day character for o (倭), i.e. the Japanese.

Volume two is devoted to a discussion of the male (人) and female (女) radicals added to the totems of the tribes. Many examples are given of ideographs, which the author recognizes as totems, with their varied forms caused by the addition of these radicals. These varied forms had no other meaning than the totem, the one with a male radical referring to the men and that with a female radical the women of the same tribe. For instance 𠂇 was the totem of a certain tribe, while 𠂇 and 𠂇 referred to the men and women respectively of that particular tribe. The author traces the development of the written language to the beginning of this Yin period when the numerous tribes tried to invent some kind of a sign to distinguish themselves. These ideographs, later developed into the *ta chuan* and *hsiao chuan* with their present meanings, but originally they were simply totems.

Volume three contains a study of the stage of civilization of the Yin period. According to the author, the Yins were still at a very low stage of civilization and as for the numerous tribes their chief

ambition was to invent totems for themselves so that they could have a recognized place in the records of the Court of the Ruling Tribe, i.e. the Yin. For this reason there were very few ideographs available for the expression of ideas. In all the bone inscriptions there is not one with several sentences connected. Expeditions (伐) formed an important part in these inscriptions; agriculture was carried on by only a small group of the tribes; and hunting was constant and took the Yin rulers to many different localities, thus showing that the Yins were still at the nomadic stage.

The method of divination and the lucky and unlucky signs are discussed in volume four. In this volume is also given a list of ninety-one names which the author calls *chên ming* (貞名). These, according to the author, are the names of the tribes used in divination, whereas they have been previously considered as the names of diviners, as explained by Tung Tso-pin in his *Chia Ku Wên Tuan Tai Yen Chiu Li* (甲骨文斷代研究例). When human beings were to be used in a sacrifice the names of the tribes were first carved on the carapace. One of the names was chosen from the spot where the carapace was burned, and the tribes to which the cracks caused by the burning pointed were to furnish the victims. This method of divination formed the keynote of Yin sacrifices. The tribes making the presents considered it the wish of the supernatural being and therefore instead of complaining they probably took it as an honour. The author compares it with the practice of offering human sacrifice on Christmas by a sect in Russia, when in the same way the person sacrificed considered it a great privilege.

The different methods of sacrifice are described in volume five. These were by burning (*fan* 燔 and *liao* 燎), by drowning (*ch'ên* 沈), by burying alive (*mai* 埋), and by putting to death (*ti sha* 肆殺). There was another method, *mao shih* (茅示), which, according to the author, was probably by wrapping a man up with grass before burning. One point which the author emphasizes on p. 29 is that in these sacrifices animals were very rarely used. The ideographs representing ox, goat, dog, pig, etc., found in these inscriptions are practically all signs for tribes and meant persons from these tribes used in the sacrifices and not the animals themselves. The number of lives taken in these sacrifices runs up into the hundreds and in one instance as many as three thousand were sacrificed. The lavishness in the killing of human beings in sacrifices indicates also that cannibalism was prevalent, and the author suggests that the two ideographs 𠂔 𠂔 should be read *hsi jih* (錫日), meaning the day after a sacrifice when the flesh of the victims was distributed. This practice was still used during the Ch'un-Ch'iu period by Hsiang Kung of the state of Sung who used Tsêng Tzū (鄧子) as victim in a sacrifice at the Temple of Sui.

Volume six is devoted to a study of the ancestors of the Yins and is full of new theories. The author explains that this is the most difficult part in the study of bone inscriptions for the genealogy of the Yins as found in literature, such as the *Bamboo Books*, *Shih Chi*, *Ta Tai Li*, etc., was composed by scholars of the Chou, Ch'in or Han period and these men did not have an accurate knowledge of the life of the Yin people. They placed the names in such relations as brothers or as fathers and sons, but the Yins, according to the author, were only at the stage of group marriage and cannot therefore be listed in such a lineal order. As a proof of his statement that the Yins were at the stage of group marriage the author states that in one inscription the names of three grandfathers are listed, in another three fathers, and the names of the wives of several Yin rulers are the same. The author has discovered from the bone inscriptions many names among the ancestors of the Yins which are not found in literature.

The author also points out that the Yins were the first to establish the semblance of a dynasty. Such names as T'ang (唐), Yü (虞) and Hsia (夏), instead of being dynasties were names of tribes as found in bone inscriptions, and that such legendary personages as Ti Ku (帝嚳), Ti Chün (帝堯), K'uei (夔) and Yü (禹) ranked with the ancestors of the Yins in the sacrifices.

One other item of interest in this volume is his discussion of T'ai Ting (太丁) on p. 38. In the *Book of Mencius* it is stated that after the death of T'ang, T'ai Ting did not ascend the Throne. This is followed by Ssü-ma Ch'ien in the *Shih Chi* and T'ai Ting is not mentioned in the *Bamboo Books*. However, the author has discovered many items recording sacrifices offered to T'ai Ting and also sacrifices to T'ai Ting together with other ancestors, so that T'ai Ting was evidently one of the rulers and that the tradition that he did not rule is unfounded.

The book which the author valued most in this study of bone inscriptions and which he quotes most frequently, especially in connection with the names of tribes, is the *Shan Hai Ching* (山海經). This book, according to the author, though composed mostly of myths and having suffered many revisions during the ages, is the only work which is old enough to contain some clue to the statements in the bone inscriptions.

The author states in his Introduction that this work is but a preliminary step to the correct interpretation of the bone inscriptions, and that as he is now old he trusts that there will be many students who will follow it up. He takes exception to the statement of Lo Chên-yü in the *Yin Hsü Shu Ch'i Hou Pien* that he was the only one who is responsible for the development of this line of study. In his annotation at the end of volume six the author gives an account of his preparation of this book and the

generosity of his friend Mr. Chang Ya-nung who gave him constant encouragement and finally financed the publication. He compares Mr. Chang with Engels, who so generously helped Marx after the closing down of his newspaper, and himself with Marx for he became financially poor after the removal of the capital to Nanking and his enforced resignation from the Historical Museum.

J. C. FERGUSON.

The Currency of the Far East. The Schjoth Collection at the Numismatic Cabinet of the University of Oslo, Norway. By Fr. Schjoth, M.R.A.S., former Commissioner of the Chinese Maritime Customs, Ningpo. Published by Luzac & Co., London.

The book under review is a most valuable addition to what little has already been written concerning Chinese numismatics. Thousands of volumes have been published covering Chinese arts, literature, history, language and other subjects, but, notwithstanding the important part that metal coinages has played through the various periods of China's long and interesting history, very few writers have more than touched on the subject. During the seventies Wylie wrote a paper about the *Coins of the Ta Ts'ing Dynasty* and in the November 1878 number of the *China Review* there appears an interesting account of a number of Ta Ts'ing coins not mentioned in Wylie's paper. From then on there have appeared in various journals and other such publications stray articles covering Chinese numismatics but no standard work of reference in the English language appeared until the publication of *The Currency of the Far East*, by J. H. Stewart Lockhart. The apparent lack of interest in Chinese numismatics is no doubt partly explained by the fact that very few foreign residents in China have ever become seriously interested in collecting Chinese cash as a hobby or if they did, few have followed on by making a scientific study of the coins so collected. Coin collectors in other part of the world are handicapped by their lack of knowledge of the Chinese written language.

Mr. Fr. Schjoth during his long residence in China became a zealous collector of Chinese coins and through his wide travel was able, as he states, steadily to augment his collection. It may not be out of place to quote a section of the preface of his book in which he gives an interesting account of his experiences while building up his collection.

"In the year 1876 I was appointed to the office of Customs at the port of Swatow. Having then been some ten years in China and acquired a fair knowledge of the language, both

spoken and written, the idea occurred to me to start collecting Chinese coins. I began in a modest way, by now and then sending my servant down town with a dollar or two to bring back strings of cash. In a comparatively short time I had, strange to say, obtained a respectable collection, not only of Ta-ch'ing, Ming, and Sung coins, but also K'ai-yuans of T'ang and even of Wu-shus and Pan-liangs, which dated from the beginning of the Christian era. In 1880, whilst at Canton, some of my Chinese friends made me a gift of many valuable specimens. Soon after I was transferred to Kungchow on the Island of Hainan. In this remote part of China I thought there would be small prospects of augmenting my collection. But here I was mistaken. The Chinese finding out my hobby, brought me whole strings of large "value two" Sung coins (c. A.D. 1000) corroded at the edge, yet otherwise perfect, taken from the old tombs of some high officials, banished to the island by the government. In 1893, at Ichang and at the old city of Ching-chou above Hankow, I secured valuable old coins of the San-Kuo period (c. A.D. 200), in addition to some rare cash-moulds. In 1896, whilst at Chungking in Szechuen, I got a vast number of iron coins, much appreciated by Chinese numismatists. In 1901, at Ningpo, I secured a unique collection of amulets."

Mr. Schjoth has very carefully classified his collection of coins under their respective periods and besides describing the inscription on the coins and giving the translation, he has also written brief accounts of the periods during which the coins were cast. Some but not all of this interesting information has been culled from Chinese numismatic works, principally the 古泉匯 *Ku-ch'uan-hui*, 古金錄 *Ku-chin-lu*, and the 泉幣彙考 *Ch'uan-pi-hui-k'ao*. The information as given under each classification is of considerable historical value and should give the collector of Chinese numismatics a sound basis upon which further to pursue his investigations. Each period of Chinese history is represented by an accurate description of its respective coinage and from the queer shaped coins cast during the Chou dynasty (1122-255 B.C.) the reader may clearly follow the ever changing coinages of various rulers until the end of the Ch'ing Dynasty.

An innovation that Mr. Schjoth has included in the catalogue and which is most valuable to other collectors, is a table of weights. Weights of all coins described are given in French grammes. This, as well as his notes concerning the metals used in casting various coins, is most useful information.

The catalogue also contains descriptions of Japanese, Korean and Annam coins. This is very helpful to the collector. Consider-

ing that at one time China held sway over the greater part of Asia, it is only natural that this would greatly influence the coinages of surrounding nations, most of which at one time or other were sending tribute to the Emperor. It is not an uncommon happening to find many Annam, Korean and Japanese coins mixed up in strings of Chinese cash in present day circulation. It is also not an unusual happening for the collector to run across numerous cash which he finds difficult to classify. In many instances it may be found that they are rare coins of one or the other of these countries.

Included in the collection and very ably described by Mr. Schjoth is an interesting collection of Chinese coins that had been turned into charms, as well as a collection of 129 charms or amulets. The subject is fully covered in the text of the catalogue by giving the interpretations of the symbols, translations of the legends and period of casting where that has been possible.

The illustrations of the catalogue have been made with much labour by pen and ink drawings of the specimens described. This method of illustration is not satisfactory when it comes to Chinese numismatics. The character inscriptions of Chinese coins, especially those of the T'ang, Northern Sung and Ming are beautiful examples of Chinese calligraphy which cannot be accurately imitated by the use of a modern steel pen. Furthermore, very few issues of Chinese coins have been perfectly cast with the outside edges forming perfect circles nor in many instances have the character inscriptions been uniform. There are also numerous inaccuracies of the character inscriptions of the coins. A steel pen was never meant to portray the beautiful brush strokes of Chinese calligraphy, notwithstanding the fact that many present day Chinese have discarded the brush for an up to date fountain pen. Mr. Schjoth, as he states in the preface, was handicapped in illustrating the coins comprising his collection. After all, this may be remedied in subsequent editions. Notwithstanding this criticism the collection of coins has been most ably described by Mr. Schjoth and those interested in Chinese numismatics have at their disposal a very accurate and excellent book of reference.

H. E. GIBSON.

Catalogue of the Recorded Paintings of Successive Dynasties (歷代著錄畫目). By John C. Ferguson. 6 tsê (stitched vols.). Published by the University of Nanking with funds supplied by the Harvard-Yenching Institute, 1934.

Although the art of painting occupies such an important place in Chinese culture, the need of a general catalogue showing the

recorded paintings of successive Dynasties has been keenly felt. Dr. Ferguson, who is well versed in Chinese literature, has succeeded in the compilation of a useful catalogue of recorded paintings. The total number of artists listed in the book is 2,391 and the references quoted show the wide range of books made use of.

Chinese paintings are traced back to the period of Huang Ti (黃帝) in the *Shu Ching*, but early painters were usually anonymous. Even in the Han Dynasty famous pictures generally were of unknown origin. It was not until the Six Dynasties (六朝) that artists began to affix their names to their works and Ku K'ai Chih (顧愷之), Lu Kao (陸杲), Chang Hêng (張衡) and Tsao Pu Hsing (曹不興) were among the pen-names first recorded.

The leading geniuses in the realm of the arts of the T'ang Dynasty were Li Ssü Hsün (李思訓), Wu Tao Tzū (吳道子) and Wang Wei (王維). Li Ssü Hsün originated the style of painting known as the Northern School, while Wang Wei was the first artist of fame whose landscape paintings opened the Southern School of this branch of art.

Many emperors were themselves gifted painters. As a result of the encouragement given by the imperial studio, the art of painting received due attention by Chinese scholars and was dealt with as an important subject in the national annals and statistical records. During the Ming and Ch'ing Dynasties more scholars acquired fame through painting, and many reference books were compiled giving biographical accounts of artists. There are over 8,000 names mentioned in these books.

Dr. Ferguson's Catalogue lists the paintings of each artist under his own name and states the page of the volume of the book in which reference is made to them. Every artist mentioned in the list of books given in the first pages of the first volume has been noted. The body of the Catalogue contains 470 pages; the First Supplement containing a list of paintings made jointly by two or more artists contains 9 pages; the Second Supplement giving a list of anonymous paintings contains 31 pages; the Third Supplement giving the pen-names of artists contains 10 pages; and the Fourth Supplement giving a list of Tapestries and Embroideries contains 7 pages. The sixth volume has 4 pages containing a guide to the surnames of artists, 26 pages giving the full names of artists and the page on which reference to them may be found, 22 pages of an Index of the Pen-names, and 34 pages devoted to a romanization of the names of all the artists.

The publication is entirely in Chinese and is probably the first incursion into the field of Chinese art in the Chinese language by a foreigner. The sixth volume is entirely devoted to names of the artists, listed according to the long established system of the number of strokes and from this system the compiler has passed directly to

an alphabetic list according to Wade's system of romanization. Immediately preceding this romanized list Dr. Ferguson gives an explanation as to its use so that any Chinese who does not know the English language will be able to use this romanized index in the same way as he is able to find out sounds of characters in the *Tz'ü Yüan* or in the *Hsin Tz'ü Tien* published by the Commercial Press.

SUN CHIEN.

How Chinese Families Live in Peiping. By Sidney D. Gamble, Research Secretary, National Council of Young Men's National Associations. With 31 Illustrations from the Author's own Photographs and 21 Diagrams. Funk & Wagnalls, New York and London. M.\$7.50.

The mention of Peking, now changed to Peiping—but what's in a name?—will conjure in the mind's eye of anyone who has been domiciled in or has ever paid a visit to this "City of Emperors" a kaleidoscopic picture of imperial grandeur and dynastic metamorphoses. When one thinks of Peking, one flies back upon the carpet of dreams to the yellow walls and green tiles. Peking is, however, neither an industrial nor a commercial centre, and it has never been productive. Its undiminished prosperity over several centuries in succession was simply due to a complicated system of officialdom with unavoidable yamen parasites and innumerable office-seekers, who flocked to the capital of the empire to spend and—spend. A special "Peking" atmosphere has therefore been formed. By saying this the reviewer does not mean to cast any aspersion on Peking. In fact Peking is magnificent and as a residence centre, now that political influences have been removed, it is superb. It will be well for readers to bear these facts in mind when taking up this book. It must also be mentioned in fairness to the author that the peculiar position of the subject under study by no means detracts from the value of the work undertaken.

This study is entitled "How Chinese Families Live in Peking." For the sake of accuracy, "families" should be qualified by "lower middle working-class," as evinced by the collected data—"one hundred and thirty-five families, 48% of those included in the study, had incomes of less than \$30.00 a month; 110 families, 39% of those studied, received between \$30 and \$100 a month; and 38 families, 13%, had incomes of \$100 or more a month." It cannot be gainsaid that the living conditions of the lower working class in China as often elsewhere in the world are in most cases miserable. Sometimes their wages are hardly above a living standard in a generally

accepted sense. As quoted by the author, Dr. Sun Yat-sen has sagely observed in his *San Min Chu I* that in the people's livelihood lies the centre of government, the centre of economics, the centre of everything and that the solution of this central problem is the solution of the social problem. Amongst other things, it is laid down in the veteran statesman's economic program to ameliorate the living conditions of the workers. Towards this end, a digest of statistics of living expenses like the present study is a laudable attempt and fills a long felt need to facilitate the evolution of plans for economic and social reconstruction.

Statistics are invariably, but sometimes unfairly, described as dry, but as has been ably brought out by the author, they can tell human stories more succinctly and forcibly than long-winded romances. Here in this book the reader will from time to time find in compressed form tales of anguish, frustration, distress and tragedy. Behind the smiling surface there is, alas, in nine cases out of ten, a hinterland of agony and despondency. For instance, on page 9 "One family reported that they had received \$5 when they gave away a son whom they could not support." Five dollars in Chinese currency is not much more than one dollar in U.S. currency or four shillings in English money. And the birth of a son is welcomed in a Chinese family—and is it not so in an American or English family?—as an event of importance and felicitation.

It has been usually in the mind of the reviewer that there are a great many dependents in a Chinese family. The statistics presented, however, show rather the contrary. The number of persons in a medium family is four (p. 21). This is a good indication of whither the Chinese family is going—every member is now trying to work for his or her own keep.

Among the most striking figures secured by this study is the small amounts spent for food per cost consumption unit by the families of the lower income groups (p. 50). In Chapter VI, on page 109, etc., the low cost of clothing is also noteworthy. "Summer dress for the poorer people is usually a shirt and trousers for the men, a coat and trousers for the women, cloth shoes and possibly cotton cloth socks for both. Winter dress is a coat and trousers made of two thicknesses of cloth and padded with cotton. There is also an intermediate weight of two thicknesses of cotton cloth." The reader must remember that the character of Northern Chinese is much plainer and more thrifty than that of Southerners. If a study were made of living conditions in Shanghai, the figures for the item of clothing per cost consumption unit would be higher than those offered in this book. From statistics the reader can sometimes glean the characteristics of people.

The figures on pages 185 and 195 show that the Chinese are charitable and at the same time careful and frugal. "Eighty-seven

per cent. of the 59 families . . . gave money to needy persons . . . " (p. 185). Perhaps it is easier to find good Samaritans amongst the poor! "Considering the limited amounts of money . . . , it seems remarkable that more than two-thirds of the accounts show a surplus . . . " (p. 195). The latter fact is also specially mentioned by the author in the Preface: "We have been impressed by the fact that 71 per cent. of the families lived within their income" (page xvi).

Another outstanding feature of this study is the light taxation borne by a Chinese family. The difficulties of collecting a house tax towards the maintenance of police, which is equivalent in nature, but certainly not in figures, to the Municipal Rate in the Shanghai Settlement, are described on Pages 190-193. "The amount of the tax varied from 2 cents to \$3.30 a month . . . " (p. 192). The italics are given by the reviewer.

The marriage rites at Peking, as described on pages 208-209, must not be considered as practised everywhere in China. At any rate, they are, it is believed, being rapidly dispensed with by the rising generation. It was true some ten years ago that many times the bride did not see her husband until she arrived at the house of her husband for the wedding (page 210), but such a state of affairs is becoming the exception rather than the rule.

The summary of findings in Chapter XII on pages 285-309 gives in condensed form a very illuminating account of how families live in Peking. The tables, particularly No. 16, at the end of the book are also useful for purposes of reference. It would be interesting if a future edition of this book would include some such data as comparative studies of the earning power of males and females, and the purchasing power of money (*e.g.*, an income of \$100 a month in 1926 would be approximately equivalent in its purchasing power to \$60-75 say ten years previously or \$125-140 ten years afterwards). The values of stable commodities over a period of several years could also be tabulated so that there would be an index of the cost of living to indicate its increase or decrease.

On the whole, the author is to be congratulated for his enterprise and the diligence and perseverance of his colleagues and himself in gathering, digesting and compiling what would appear to the non-statistical minded as a huge incongruous mass of accounts and figures. The book is specially commended to students of sociology and economics.

T. FORD WANG.

Publications of the Institute of Chinese Cultural
Studies of the University of Nanking.

Biography of Shao Chin-han (邵二雲先生年譜). By Huang Yün-mei. Mex.\$0.80.

Shao Chin-han (邵晉涵), T. Yü-t'ung (與桐), also Erh-yün (二雲), H. Nan-chiang (南江), was a native of Yü-yao of Chekiang. He was born in the eighth year of Ch'ien Lung, A.D. 1743. He was particularly clever in his studies when still very young and was already able to compose a long poem at the age of seven. At the age of twenty-three he passed the examination for *chü-jên*, the examining official on this occasion being Ch'ien Ta-hsin (錢大昕). He passed the examination for the highest degree in the thirty-sixth year of Ch'ien Lung when he was at the age of twenty-nine. In the thirty-eighth year of Ch'ien Lung (A.D. 1773) he was made a Hanlin and appointed a Compiling Officer of the *Ssü K'ü Ch'üan Shu* which work lasted till the forty-seventh year, A.D. 1782, when he was forty years of age. He remained in the Hanlin Academy until the first year of Chia Ch'ing, A.D. 1796, when he died at the age of fifty-four.

Among his friends were Ch'ien Ta-hsin, Wang Hui-tsu (汪輝祖), Hung Liang-chi (洪亮吉) and Chang Hsüeh-ch'êng (章學誠) who had a high opinion of his work as a historian. He attempted to re-write the Sung History but unfortunately did not live to complete the work.

Supplementary Notes to "The Study of Forged Books" of Yao Chi-hêng (古今僞書攷補證). By Huang Yün-mei. Mex.\$1.20.

This work is based entirely on the earlier work of Yao Chi-hêng (Yao Shou-yüan) which deals with ninety-one books which are generally considered to have been forged. These all belong to the *ching*, *shih* or *tzü* class, for there are practically no forged works in the *chi* class. In this new book of Mr. Huang, in every case, the original remarks of Yao Chi-hêng are first quoted after which are given the additional notes which he has found in his researches together with his own opinion of the book. In most instances these supplementary notes strengthen the opinions expressed by Yao, but in other cases they lead the present author to different conclusions. At the end of the book the author supplies a very useful list giving the names of the books under discussion, the conclusions made by Yao Chi-hêng as well as his own opinions.

Remains of Yin Dynasty Inscriptions on Carapaces and Bones—*Yin Ch'i I Ts'un* (殷契佚存). By Shang Ch'êng-tsu. In two volumes. Mex.\$14.00.

This first volume of this work contains collo-type reproductions of 1,000 rubbings of Yin dynasty carapaces and bones, large and small, with inscriptions. Of these 193 came from the collection of Sun Chuang, 61 from Ho Sui, 62 from the Smithsonian Institute, 27 from Wang Fu-chin, 30 from Ch'ên Pang-huai, 7 from Yü Shêng-wu, 60 from Huang Chün of the Tsun Ku Chai, and the bulk numbering 560 from the author's collection.

In his Preface the author states that these carapaces and bones when excavated are so brittle that they are difficult to handle. The collection of all available material is even of greater importance at the present time, while specimens are available, than investigation. However, Mr. Shang in this work has not only supplied us with the necessary material but also with the results of his investigations which may be found in volume two.

This book has a Foreword by Tung Tso-pin and also one by T'ang Lan. Tung expounds the method of dividing these inscriptions into certain periods according to the styles of writing, and composition, and also the names of diviners, while T'ang explains the origin of the written language.

J. C. FERGUSON.

The Chinese: Their History and Culture. By Kenneth Scott Latourette. New York, The Macmillan Company, 1934. 2 Vols., pp. xiv: 506, 389. With English-Chinese Glossary, Index and Map.

We are right in expecting from the pen of the Professor of Missions and Oriental History in Yale University a work of broad usefulness and high merit. Professor Latourette has never failed to produce substantial and informative works throughout a fruitful career of scholarship—first his *History of Early Relations between the United States and China, 1784-1844*, then his well-known handbooks *The Development of China* and a similar book for Japan, brief but highly competent in their restricted fields. Only recently an extensive compilation executed with infinite pains and industry *A History of Christian Missions in China*, has definitely placed on record to the present time the chronicles of one of the greatest attempts at culture transference of the centuries. Now with great skill and thoroughness he places at the disposal of the reader

of English a compilation in two volumes which veritably exhausts the material which has thus far been exposed in Occidental languages relating to the vast subject of China's history and culture. The work is notable accordingly in its admitted purpose, "a fairly full summary and interpretation of what is known about the Chinese, both for the general reader and for longer, more detailed college and university courses on China." Lineal inheritor of the Yale tradition of general exposition of Chinese civilization, Professor Latourette emulates the work of his distinguished predecessors, the Williams, père et fils, compiler and revisionist respectively of the monumental handbook of the past century on China. The need exists, states the author, for a work which will endeavour to picture afresh the Chinese, their history and civilization, since the last revision (1888) of *The Middle Kingdom*.

The author's approach to the colossal task of representing not only the sweep and flow of three milleniums of race history but the stratified structure of a culture which is distinctly *sui generis* among the world's ethnic groups, is relatively simple. A volume, the first, in some twelve chapters indicates the determining physical characteristics of the land and the successive epochs of China's historical development. Under graphic topical characterizations,—a favourite method of the Occidental historian of China,—the force and value of these periods is indicated, such as for the Ch'in and Han dynasties (221 B.C.—A.D. 220): "The Formation of the Empire;" the era of the Five Dynasties (A.D. 907-960) and the Sung dynasty (A.D. 960-1279): "Political Weakness but Cultural Brilliance;" or in the final three chapters each entitled successively "The Transformation Wrought by the Impact of the Occident." It would seem that, following the earlier procedure, these last chapters might have been given titles more indicative of the details of the processes of change taking place, although an explanatory sub-title fills this rôle for each of the similarly named chapters. China's contacts with Western nations fall, in fact, into readily distinguishable periods which have been denominated by historians¹ under various titles such as "Early Period" (to downfall of the Mongol dynasty), "Preconventional Period," (from termination of European contacts under the tolerant rule of the Mongols to the treaties of the 1840s) and the succeeding "Conventional (Treaty) Period." Professor Latourette's sub-titles begin with the close of the "Preconventional Period" and emphasize the political and societal changes induced by Occidental influences. The treatment of the history of China from its obscure beginnings is thoroughly critical

¹ For example, F. BRINKLEY: *China*, Vol. X, Chaps. IV-VI; E. M. GALE: *Basics of the Chinese Civilization*, Part II, Topic I.

and is a notable departure from the reliance of the older histories, such as H. Cordier's *Histoire Générale de la Chine*, upon conventional dynastic chronicles, or the anecdotal style of current popular texts.²

The second volume is suitably reserved for a description of Chinese societal and cultural features—government, religion, social life and organization, art, language, literature, and education. Here is gathered an immense amount of material relating to “the largest fairly homogeneous group of mankind.” It is obvious, however, that statements of fact in many cases must be qualified at this period of vast unsettlement of the entire race, for social and political life is in a period of flux; and what may have been true a generation ago, or what may hold for backward Yangchou on the Grand Canal, no longer prevails in the current year or in the great treaty-ports and their related communities. The compiler is however thoroughly aware of these rapid transformations caused by “Chinese students . . . going abroad by the thousands and a large proportion of them have seen Occidental life, not in smaller university centers, where the changes affecting the West are not so obvious, but in such cities as New York, Paris, Berlin, and London, where all the new forces affecting the Occident are the most powerful. It is this ultra-modern Western life which they tend to reproduce when once more in China.” Changes due to the introduction of many mechanical devices, marked changes in the family and its former religious functions, in the institution of marriage, are shown as partly overturning social life and institutions. A treatment of China’s art—historical summary, architecture, gardens, sculpture, painting, calligraphy, jade, ceramics, bronze, lacquer, enamels, glass, jewellery, textiles and music with observations on changes wrought by the coming of the Occident—has taxed the skill of the compiler to compress in two score pages (II, Chap. XVIII). “In no other realm of contemporary Chinese culture is it more difficult to forecast the future. The old traditions are being so weakened and such scanty beginnings are being made toward something new that the friends of China can only be patient and hope.”

To attempt to discover errors in a work by so skillful a compiler and thorough a scholar is well nigh a work of supererogation. Moreover the author acknowledges his indebtedness to a group of Doctors and Professors (A. W. Hummel, B. Laufer, Lewis Hodous, William Hung, Ellsworth Huntington, among them) the very appearance of whose names as coadjutors is an adequate guarantee

² The popular text book by H. H. Gowan and J. W. Hall, *An Outline History of China*, is a conspicuous example of this type of uncritical writing on Chinese history, although its organization makes it admittedly a useful beginning students' text.

against anything but mechanical errors in the text. As a bibliographer Professor Latourette (as the reviewer has had occasion previously to record)³ is unsurpassed. Of outstanding value in his present work are the lists of related works attached to each chapter which enable the reader to supplement the necessarily limited information of the text itself. Chinese sources are enumerated although the author modestly denies having gone "through them all" (p. IX); they are cited—as found largely in Wylie's *Notes on Chinese Literature*—"to give some slight indication of the wealth of Chinese material which exists and to suggest some of the places in which original research in the sources must begin." Some errors, misstatements, or omissions are noted: (I, 1) the official name of the National Government of China is now *Kuo-min Chêng-fu* ("National Government"); (I, 9) are the regional variations in language entirely due to geographical isolation? (I, 12) the early literary records would indicate that North China—if not "heavily timbered"—had at least thick bush to be cleared away by the agriculturalist, and elsewhere (II, 84) the author appears in a measure to retract his original statement regarding a virtually treeless North China (cf. Maspero, *La Chine Antique*, p. 22,25); (I, 13) Chinese literary evidences indicate a prejudice against feeding grain suitable for human food to animals—hence the paucity of domestic animals in a land teeming with humanity; (I, 44) Ch'êng Wang for Ch'ên Wang. A suggestive analogy between China of the later Chou Empire and Europe of the Middle Ages is presented in I, 47-8. The *roman historique* of Su Ch'in and Chang I is presented in the guise of historic fact (I, 53). In dealing with authenticity of ancient literary pieces, the scholarly researches and conclusions of Chavannes, Maspero, Pelliot, Karlgren and Granet are effectively epitomized (I, 64-69 *et al.*).

The outstanding achievement of Professor Latourette's work is undoubtedly the lists of pertinent reading references attached to each chapter. While attempts have frequently been made from H. Cordier's monumental *Bibliotheca Sinica* and Mr. Chas. S. Gardner's recent compilations of works on China including Chinese, to be found in American institutions (for the American Committee for the Promotion of Chinese Studies), down to popular lists of "the best books on China," no more carefully critical bibliography has come to the reviewer's attention. So cautious is the author in his evaluation of works cited that he appears at times unappreciative of what were after all the pioneering efforts of A. Pfizmaier (I, 229) and H. Giles (I, 146, 232; II, 331), and he reiterates the current

³In "Far Eastern Trade Routes and Cargoes" in *Proceedings of the Pacific Coast Branch of the American Historical Society*, 1930, p. 119.

but too condemnatory criticisms of Granet's (I, 88) work. Also on I, 274 various works are generally condemned as "highly unsatisfactory" without specifying which or in what respect. On the other hand one doubts if "Grousset and Krause are the most trustworthy from the standpoint of the critical historian," on the grounds that the former at least is not a sinologist and hence cannot control his original source materials in the Chinese language. A valuable monograph by G. E. Taylor, on the "Taiping Rebellion: its economic background and social theory," appearing in *Chi. Soc. and Poli. Science Review*, January, 1933 is not mentioned (I, 399). Misspellings of authors' names occur in the case of Liang Ch'i-ch'ao (II, 62), E. Kann (II, 119) and Mrs. Ayscough (II, 331). The unfortunate misplacing of the Chinese characters on II, 297 has been rectified by special *Errata* slips. Yüan Yü (II, 361) should be Yüan Yu. Even though the League of Nations Special Commission adopted as its official spelling "Manchukuo" as given on Professor Latourette's map, the League cannot change the laws of Chinese phonology. We shall therefore continue to romanize this region (correctly) as "Manchoukuo" 滿州國. We have referred to the lists of Chinese historical sources (largely following Wylie's *Notes on Chinese Literature*) which are cited but admittedly not used by the author concluding with the final "dynastic history" *Ch'ing Shih Kao*, Draft History of the Ch'ing (Manchu) Dynasty, the reason for the suppression of which is rather inadequately given (I, 357), e.g. the political motive. In the sub-title of Gale's *Discourses on Salt and Iron*, the word *Text* should be *Notes* (I, 148). The bibliography on the introduction and growth of Buddhism (I, 184-5) fails to include C. H. Hamilton's useful reading guide *Buddhism in India, Ceylon, China and Japan*, though mentioned later (II, 180). Likewise S. Belâcs' valuable "Contributions to the Economic History of the T'ang Era" (in M.S.O.S., XXXIV (I)) probably appeared too late to be cited for the T'ang bibliography (I, 230). Professor P. Y. Saeki's studies on Nestorian Christianity and his translations of Nestorian literary fragments are not mentioned (I, 231). Takakoshi's *Economic Aspects of the History of the Civilization of Japan* might well appear among works cited on T'ang influence on Japan (I, 233). A reference to the German translation of "Der Bericht Wang Ngan-schis von 1058 über Reform der Beamtentums"⁴ should be added to Professor Franke's citation (I, 275) and G. Margouliès' *Le développement de la Prose artistique chinoise* should be included on I, 276 (cited later on II, 330).

It remains to be said that Professor Latourette has well accomplished the task he has set himself—"a large comprehensive book on China and the Chinese." It is a work which should remain

⁴ Sitz. der Preuss. Akademie der Wissenschaften, Phil.-Hist. Klasse. 1932, XIII.

standard for some time to come, or better still until we begin to see the treatment of China's history limited, as by her own historians, to single epochs, or distinct political or cultural periods, as for example in the case of Western historiography for ancient, medieval, renaissance or modern Europe.

ESSON M. GALE.

Basics of the Chinese Civilization. A Topical Survey in Outline with Readings. By Esson M. Gale, M.A., PH.D. (Leyden). Shanghai: Kelly & Walsh, Ltd. 1934.

With the interest of the world centering, as it is, on the Far East and with courses on the Orient and especially, on China, being introduced into colleges and secondary school curricula, Dr. Gale's *Basics of the Chinese Civilization* is a most timely book, filling as it does a great need among teachers in these courses. Dr. Gale, with his broad knowledge from personal contacts with the East, and his recent experience as visiting lecturer on Far Eastern history at the University of Michigan, and as chairman of the department of Oriental languages at the University of California, is uniquely fitted to deal with this subject.

The book does not profess to be a popular work for the lay reader but is the outcome of lectures given to large classes of English-speaking students and, as such, is a big contribution in an almost virgin field. Teachers introducing courses in Chinese history will find it almost invaluable; and in schools where library facilities make possible the teaching of the subject through reference works, Dr. Gale's book furnishes an excellent guide to be placed directly in the hands of students. Only those who have taught this course, handicapped by lack of proper material can appreciate the contribution the author has made.

The book falls into two parts, one dealing with aspects of China's cultural development, the other, with China's international relations. It is not a consecutive narrative, but is made up of a series of topics in chapters and paragraphs, developed chronologically in outline form, covering the scope of Chinese history and constituting a guide to, and indicating all important subjects to be covered by anyone who wishes to have a comprehensive knowledge of Chinese history and culture.

Each topic is followed by bibliographic references which, while by no means exhaustive, furnish however, adequate factual material from the best sources on the subject. The author points out that any one desiring further bibliography will find *A Syllabus of the History of Chinese Civilization and Culture*, by L. C. Goodrich and

H. C. Fenn, published by the China Society of New York, useful. It is unfortunate that Dr. George B. Cressey's *China's Geographical Foundations* and Professor Kenneth Latourette's *The Chinese: Their History and Culture* were not off the press when Dr. Gale's book was compiled as they furnish material too recent and too valuable to be omitted from any bibliography of important works on China.

The exercises under China's Social Development, and Geographical Backgrounds of Chinese Culture are suggestive for foundational work, while the outlines under International Relations are of particular interest and would be helpful, not only to teachers and students of the subject, but also to all who wish to be conversant with the affairs of the Far East, which forms one of the important centers of contemporaneous world history.

M. CRESSY.

Sino-Portuguese Trade from 1514 to 1644. By T'ien-Tsê Chang, PH.D., Leyden. Late E. J. Brill, Ltd., 1934.

The sub-title of this doctoral dissertation will suggest its principal merits: it is a "A Synthesis of Portuguese and Chinese Sources." A great number of sources are cited, or quoted at some length, which for most readers are not available elsewhere. There are seven chapters covering 141 pages, with a bibliography and an index. The first chapter contains an historical sketch of China's maritime trade down to 1513, and a considerable number of passages are quoted from the dynastic histories of the Sung, Yüan and Ming periods.

Since most readers find a tantalizing uncertainty in accounts of the first arrival of the Portuguese it is interesting to find the evidence given by Dr. Chang upon which conclusions as to the exact date can be drawn. Morse states that Rafael Perestrello came to China in 1516. It is evident that Perestrello returned from China to Malacca in August or September of that year, but the evidence asserts that he left Malacca for China in 1515; and Dr. Chang seems justified in presuming that he arrived in 1515. That Portuguese traders first arrived in China in 1514, a year before Perestrello's visit, seems established not only by the letter of Andrea Corsali dated the 6th of January, 1515, which states that "during this last year some of our Portuguese made a voyage to China," but also by a letter of Giovanni da Empoli, another Italian in the Portuguese service, who wrote from India on the 15th of November, 1515, "From Malacca have come ships and junks. . . They have also discovered China, where men of ours have been who are staying here."

Dr. Chang is not successful in locating the island of Lampacao to which the Portuguese community resorted in 1554, but he rejects the suggestion of Dr. H. B. Morse in the *Journal* of the N.C.B. R.A.S. for 1921 (Vol. LII: 137-8) that the place could have been the present Lampienchau on Bias Bay. Its Chinese name, he asserts, was Lang-pai-kao, or in Cantonese, Lang-pa-kao.

Quotations by the author from various sources make it evident that Western goods did not reach China in large quantities; the trade was primarily in Asiatic goods. Hence the importance of Malacca, a fact that Albuquerque had well perceived, since there all the countries of the Far East, India and Persia exchanged the products of their native lands. China's trade was controlled under the Sung and Yüan dynasties by state-instituted Bureaus of Trading Junks, but under the Mings this system was given up for a system of control by the provincial authorities.

Macao is shown to have had a rapid rise, a rapid decline. The Dutch attacked it unsuccessfully in 1622, but established themselves successfully in Formosa in 1625, where their trade made them effective competitors. In Macao meanwhile the decrease in trade was attended by maladministration. In June of 1640 the Dutch attacked Malacca which surrendered in January of the following year. Portugal and Spain ceased in 1640 to be under one monarch, and the Portuguese used the occasion to show hostility to the Spanish whose friendship they needed more than ever. "Thus faded away the glory of Macao, and ever since Sino-Portuguese trade has ceased to be of much importance in the commercial history of China."

DONALD ROBERTS.

Dictionnaire Monguor-Français. By A. de Smedt and A. Mostaert, C.I.C.M. From the *Series: Le Dialecte Monguor parlé par les Mongols du Kansou Occidental*. IIIe Partie, 1933, Publications de l'Université Catholique de Pékin. Pages xiv, 521. Paper covers. Mex. \$30.00 (Additional postage for China 30 cts.; abroad \$2.50). The French Bookstore. Peiping (Peking), China.

The publishers of this work announce that this dictionary forms the third part of the study of a Mongolian dialect spoken in Western Kansu. The first part published in Tomes 24 and 25 of *Anthropos* gives a detailed phonetic description of the Monguor language; while in the second part which will be soon published by *Asia Major* the authors study its structure.

The language of the Mongols of Western China is remarkable for its archaism. It recalls the Mongolian found in oriental and western documents of the XIII and XIV centuries. In Volumes 28 (page 474) and 29 (p. 224) the *T'oung Pao* calls the attention of students to this important work on the Mongolian language; it is all the more valuable that the dialects of Kansu have hardly been explored so far.

In their dictionary the authors give for practically every word numerous examples with phrases taken from the common language. All Monguor texts are rendered in exact phonetic transcription. Fully aware of the importance of the Monguor vocabulary, the authors have been careful to give the corresponding words in Ancient, Written, and Modern Mongolian. In a similar manner all borrowings from the Chinese, the Tibetan and Turki have been traced to the originals.

G.

The Herald Wind. Translations of Sung dynasty poems, lyrics and songs. By Clara Candlin, with an introduction by L. Cranmer Byng, and foreword by Dr. Hu Shih. *Wisdom of the East Series*: John Murray, London 1933.

T'ang poets perfected *lü shih* or "poems according to law." It remained for their successors, men of Sung, to develop the enchanting *tz'ü* which scorn law or bonds; which are written to fit the pattern of some musical air; which are seldom didactic, treating rather such subjects as love, flowers, or fleeting impressions; and which are written in a language not far from colloquial.

Before turning to a discussion of *The Herald Wind* I would say a word in regard to translation in general: the French differentiate between a *version*, which is as nearly literal as possible, and a *traduction* in which sense is, in a measure, sacrificed to literary form. A *traduction* is in fact a translation "in the spirit of the original." In English although there is no such defined differentiation in the uses of the terms "version" and "translation," there are certainly two schools of thought in regard to the problem of rendering the literature of one country in the language of another. One, and of this I am a member, believes that the translator should cling to form, text and idiom of the original as closely as possible; the other believes that such text should be rendered rather in spirit than in letter and in smooth idiomatic English.

In order that judgement may be logical it is important, before criticizing a book, to differentiate between the tenets of these two schools and determine to which the writer belongs.

Clara Candlin is a member of the second school of thought. She translates very charmingly in the spirit of the Chinese. Take, for instance, the *tz'u* by Li Ch'ing-chao who, although she be highly regarded as a poetess, should hardly be described as "the most distinguished woman scholar of China." She can never usurp the place held by Pan Chao of the Han dynasty. Clara Candlin's rendering of this *tz'u* reads:

THE WIDOW

Seek, seek: search, search:
Cold, cold: bare, bare:
Grief, grief. Cruel, cruel grief.
Now warm, then like the autumn, cold again.
How hard to calm the heart!
With tiny cups of lightest wine,
How can the cold, sent by the sharp night wind,
Be overcome?

The wild-geese flying pass,
That set the heart to ache,
Like pensive memories
Of friends of old and times gone by.

Beside my window, here, I pause alone.
When will the night descend?
Chrysanthemums bestrew the ground
In withered heaps.

Which can be plucked?
Catalpa leaves are rustling with the misty rain:
And rain-drops patter in the yellow dusk;
And sorrow, sorrow, sorrowing;
Can such a word as this
Be ever ended?

Now this arrangement of line might almost be that of *lǚ shih*. It gives no idea of the charming irregularity in the original text written as it is to fit a musical air. This *tz'u* is in two stanzas with lines of varying length. In order to emphasize the typical form of such a piece I have made the following version. Each word, or group, approximates to one Chinese character. I have kept the lines inviolate and it will be noted that the numbers of

characters to each line are as follows: Stanza I, six, six, six, four, six, seven, three, three, seven; Stanza II, six, five, four, four, six, six, seven, three, seven. A far cry indeed from the fives, and sevens of *lǜ shih*.

Sung to the Air: Shêng, Shêng Man.

I.

Search, search, seek, seek, lone, lone,
 Drear, drear, sad, sad: to the uttermost, the uttermost.
 Sudden warmth comes, although it is cold-time season.
 Now very difficult to rest.
 Three tiny cups, two flat saucers of weakest wine,
 How can they help withstand sharpness of dawn-
 rising wind?
 Wild-geese fly over.
 Verily heart is wounded.
 Think of friends whom in old days I knew.

II.

Yellow blossoms piled, heaped, overflow the court.
 Pining, haggard, weak as now
 Who is there able to gather?
 Stand beside the window
 Alone, by myself; how live until the dark?
 Catalpa trees are wrapped in misting rain.
 Drop, drop, drip, drip; until yellow dusk.
 This goes on, — a sequence.
 Can the one word "grief" express all?

In an interesting Foreword to *The Herald Wind*, Dr. Hu Shih analyses the *tz'ü* and points out that "all the singing parts of the dramas of the Yüan and Ming dynasties, were written to existing popular tunes and were therefore historically derived from the *tz'ü*." The pieces here brought together are chosen from a collection compiled by Dr. Hu Shih himself and, if I am not mistaken, it is the first work in English to deal with the output of Sung poets alone. Many of these songs are delightful, many I should like to quote; I must, however content myself by giving one or two of the most successful:

The South

All men speak
Well of the South.
Travellers all
Stay in the South,
Till they're aged.
Lakes and streams
Vie in blueness
With the sky.
In the gay
Painted barges
Raindrops make
Music for you
As you sleep.

One there is,
Like a fairy,
By the wine-stove.
Frozen snow
Are her wrists.
Travellers say
"Till old age
Stay in the South."
Stay in the South
While you're young
Or you'll be
Broken hearted.

The Little Garden

Reluctantly I crush, with rough shod feet,
The soft green moss,
To rap ten times upon the wooden gate;
But still it opens not.
The garden, all ablaze with Spring,
Is closed in vain.
For, there, a crimson spray
Of apricot
Beyond the wall escapes.

In a short appendix appear translations of a few lyrics and songs, written by poets of later dynasties, collected by Dr. T. Z. Koo; among them the delightful ballad of *Mêng Chiang Nü*.

Captain L. Cranmer-Byng, whose service in introducing the thought of the East to readers of the West is unique, provides an enthralling introduction on Sung culture. *The Herald Wind* is indeed a welcome addition to *The Wisdom of the East Series*.

FLORENCE AYSCOUGH.

Travels of a Chinese Poet, Tu Fu, Guest of Rivers and Lakes.
Vol. II. By Florence Ayscough. Illustrated from etchings by
Lucille Douglass. Jonathan Cape, London, 1934.

In Mrs. Ayscough's former work on Tu Fu she gave us the life and works of the poet from his birth in A.D. 712 till the year 759. In the present volume she continues the narrative and concludes it with the poet's death in 770.

Tu Fu first appeared at the court of the T'ang Emperor Ming Huang who was dominated by one of the most famous beauties of Chinese history, the beautiful Yang Kuei-fei. Later he was Censor under the Emperor Su Tsung. Having given offense, he was sent to Hua Chou, from whence he begins the itineraries described in the poems of this book. A good map is furnished of the journeys of Tu Fu, and the varied experiences of his many years of travel are described by him with rare insight and imagination and often deep pathos.

Mrs. Ayscough has added supplementary notes to explain the conditions of the times in which he lived, and to give clearer sequence to his experiences. During many years of Tu Fu's exile from court, he lived in dire poverty, though for a short time he secured both local and Imperial favor. His poem entitled "Grass Hut Unroofed by Autumn Wind" gives a vivid picture of the extreme conditions to which he was reduced.

As an instance of how Mrs. Ayscough has tried to give by word pictures the ideas represented in the original ideographs, the following is presented (p. 222 "Round Moon") :—

At the full, lone Moon floats above Kiosk;
In the night, cold River rushes below Gate.

Gold light thrown on waves is not motionless;
Brilliance cast on sleeping-mat exceeds beauty of silk gauze;

The circle not yet impaired; solitary hills soundless;
Moon suspended high; widespread constellations few.

In old garden pine-cones fall, cassia trees bloom;
Ten thousand *li* distant; the same clear glory!

The binding and the printed page represent high standards of the publisher's art. The etchings are exquisite, several of them being taken from original photographs by various friends who had visited the scenes mentioned by Tu Fu. Originally it was Mrs. Ayscough's hope to traverse the various historical sites mentioned by the poet and take her own photographs, but this she was unable to accomplish. In either case, the artist of the etchings, Lucille Douglass, would have done her part to help make this work a thing of beauty and of charm.

Mrs. Ayscough admits that her method of translation is in "certain respects unorthodox." But she is convinced "that vivid translation can only result from a study of the aura emanating from an ideograph." Certainly a detailed, fascinating picture is given us of the life of Tu Fu and the times in which he lived.

R. F. FITCH.

Tombs of Old Lo-Yang. A record of the construction and contents of a group of Royal Tombs at Ch'in-Ts'un, Honan, probably dating 550 B.C. By William Charles White. Shanghai, Kelly & Walsh, Ltd. Quarto, Pp. xxii; 177. Limited to 500 copies. 187 Plates and 15 Illustrations.

This handsomely produced and perfectly documented work is divided into three Parts. Part I is the text, Part II is Detailed Descriptions and Part III Plates. The most useful review of such a work would be to furnish some account of the contents.

There is a Preface, and a Foreword by Dr. Ferguson, both of which contain useful and necessary information. Part I opens with an Introduction which relates a fact that possibly accounts for the origin of the work, that is when the author had "a relic of the ancient past thrust at him, in the shape of a bronze bell with a year date of the infancy of Confucius—a thrilling experience which could never be forgotten, especially since it was accompanied with data of the Chou tomb from which it came, and of many articles said to have been found with it." That is the way some meet with their appointment—fate! Nothing is said of what the ancient kings thought of the matter. Perhaps there were no objections. So the Introduction goes on full of incidents and historical references. Then in Chapter 2 there is an account of burial in ancient China with a description of the tombs and giving much curious and quaint information. In Chapter 3 there is a geography of the locality, which is one of the famous spots in China, from the times of the Duke of Chou. The conclusion is reached, after a full survey, that these tombs date from the 6th century B.C. Chapter 4 gives an account of the Construction of these Ancient Tombs. The descriptions are minute and detailed so a clear conception may be had of how they disposed of the dead 2,500 years ago; and in the next chapter there is given an account of the General Contents of the Han tombs and then follows in Chapter 6 the "General Contents of the Horse Pits"; these two chapters are historical contributions of value. In Chapter 7 there is given

an account of the Historical Inscriptions and their significance. (A) is the Piao inscriptions on the bells and (B) the K'ang Shu Vase Inscription. A translation is given with the text and important characters are fully discussed. The Piao bell inscription has been considered by competent scholars and there is a general agreement that it dates from the 22nd year of Ling Wang of the Chou dynasty, that is 550 B.C. In Chapter 8 a comparison is made between the Lo-Yang and the Hsin-Chêng finds. There is a striking similarity.

In Part II we have the detailed Descriptions of the finds. The list is divided into the Chariot and Horse Trappings; Tomb Furniture; Tomb Ritual Objects; Jade and Stone Objects; Decorative Objects; Bell and Stone Chimes; Chinese Inscriptions. There are 536 separate paragraphs each containing a full account of the article described, its origin, substance, condition, quality and measurements. An immense amount of care and time must have been expended on this part of the work and a very complete and perfect record is obtained. Then follow the 148 sheets of Plates. Some of the sheets have only one figure, others have more, the most on one sheet is 8.

It remains to be said that the workmanship, in every respect, is worthy of the highest praise. The compiler has produced a work that will be highly valued by archeologists and others, not only as a record of important finds from ancient tombs, but also for the labour and scholarship spent on examining and deciphering and arranging all in so competent and so perfect a way.

Messrs. Kelly & Walsh in their workmanship have produced a work entirely worthy of the subject. It is most satisfactory to find that we have a firm that can do such fine work. It is deserving of the highest praise.

But we live in a strange age. The spirit of gain and curiosity is so dominant that nothing is allowed to rest or remain sacrosanct. In past ages superstition, accompanied with heavy punishment for any violation, guarded the gates of the tombs: but the modern age in its eagerness has brushed all that aside and placed in its Museums what the ancients destined for the darkness of the tombs and openly only to be marked by its conspicuous mounds. Is there a moral question in this trading between the past and the present?

There is undoubtedly a certain value in all these excavations which should not be decried. A civilization of the past is mirrored for the people of the present. And it is most useful to have visible objects of such things as the tureens and platters and other articles used in the libations and the services of ancient sacrifices. And Bishop White points out that the find of the set of the seven small animals appears to be a part of the set of the Twelve Zodiacal Animals which is a fact of importance as

indicating that the Zodiacal Animal Cycle was known in Chou times, of which there is no evidence that it was so until now. Then many of the cunning works show a high technical skill and there have been found many beautiful works wrought in gold, etc. It has always been known, of course, that there have been evidences of much fine work from the dawn of ancient history; and this suggests an old question: where did all this come from?

With regard to the explanation of the coloured beads given on p. 50 it is not entirely satisfactory. Ma Tuan-lin in his history of the Sacrifices states definitely that the beads of the tassels of the Royal Cap were jade. This should be accepted and, therefore, an explanation of the many variegated beads found in the tombs has still to be found.

EVAN MORGAN.

SINOLOGICAL NOTES

In the XXIXth volume (parts 4/5, pp. 276-386, 1932) of the *T'ung Pao* there appears the second and concluding part of a long paper on Chinese Chronology by the late L. de Saussure, edited by H. Maspero. The previous part was published in 1924 (*T.P.*, XXIII, 1924, p. 287).

Two main conclusions are stated:—

(a) That the commencement (avènement) of the Chou dynasty occurred in 1044 B.C.

(b) That the astronomical system indicated in the *Yao Tien* section of the *Shu Ching* originated about 2500 B.C., but that its source is Perso-Indian rather than indigenous.

The first conclusion is based on a very thorough investigation of:—

(1) Previous studies made by Pan Ku, Liu Hsiang, Liu Hsien and I Hsing, together with the criticisms of Gaubil and other European workers.

(2) A comparison of five cyclic-lunar day and month dates of the early Chou period which are indicated in the *Shu* with computations made by Dr. J. K. Fotheringham, the well known Reader in Chronology at Oxford. The apparent inconsistencies are shown to depend on inaccurate determination of winter solstices which caused incorrect cyclic ranking of the moons.

In this connection it is perhaps worthy of remark that no notice has been taken by de Saussure of the portentous conjunction of the five planets which is stated in the Bamboo Books to have occurred in the 32nd year of Chou Hsin, 20/21 years prior to the founding of the Chou dynasty. With de Saussure's date for the latter, the alleged conjunction should have occurred in 1064/5 B.C. In actual fact the 20 year period conjunctions of the slow moving planets Jupiter and Saturn occurred in 1079 ± 1 B.C. and 1059 ± 1 B.C., which would correspond to the dates of 1059 or 1039 for the founding of the dynasty. The cyclic years interpolated into the text of the Bamboo Books make the Chou date equivalent to 1049/50 B.C. (=1069 for the conjunction) but this is well known to be doubtful. Dr. Fotheringham has kindly computed for the reviewer the planetary conditions in 1079 ± 1 and it does not appear that the other three planets simultaneously approached Jupiter and Saturn at all closely during this conjunction; there is also a discrepancy between the alleged stellar position ("Fang") and the season

(Spring). The conjunction of 1059 ± 1 seems a little more probable, but it may well be that the conjunction is not historical and has been computed backwards in later times to suit the Chinese astrological theory of the influence of multiple conjunctions. Since Ssü-ma Ch'ien assumes the periodic time of Jupiter at exactly 12 years and that of Saturn at 28 years (*sic!*), such computed conjunction dates would necessarily be much in error. Ssü-ma Ch'ien refers to a similar conjunction in about 206 B.C., which was in fact the 44th conjunction of Jupiter and Saturn after that in 1079 ± 1 B.C. His inaccurate periods for Jupiter and Saturn give a false conjunction period for these two of 21 years. This incorrect figure applied backward 41 times to the real conjunction of 206 B.C. gives an imaginary conjunction in 1067 ± 1 B.C., which agrees within a permissible variation with the 1069 figure derived from the interpolated cyclic year dates of the Bamboo Books.

In regard to the second conclusion de Saussure restates his well known and adequately sustained thesis that the 28 *Hsü* (Resting places of the moon) were determined by the stellar positions of full moons (necessarily opposite to the Sun) at the four quarters (maximum and minimum solar altitude and two epochs of equal days and nights; note that the latter presuppose some fairly accurate time measuring instrument) and at six intermediate points in each quarter. There was definite pairing of *Hsü* along meridians. His former support (*T. P.*, 1907-11) of Biot's theory of the *Hsü* is thus partially abandoned.

The whole system was in his opinion an equatorial one (the reviewer would prefer to call it a "sun-dial" one), which disregarded the obliquity of the path of the sun and moon, and is dated as to origin at about 2500 B.C. by the precessional displacement of the four leading stars from the tropic and equinoctial points.

He counters Maspero's thesis that the system is post-Confucian (say 5th century B.C.) by indicating the improbability that the Chinese were entirely ignorant of the annual stellar rotation prior to that date and by urging the cogency of the internal consistency of the *Yao Tien* text.

The difficulty with the *Yao Tien* is that the "observations" prescribed for the *Hsi* and *Ho* are physically impossible and on this account many Sinologues and astronomers have regarded the whole scheme as fictitious. De Saussure held that the element of real antiquity in it is the position of the four stars with respect to the tropic points and that the actual observations behind it were lunar ones. (Oppositions at the four seasonal periods).

¹ Similar doubt arises as to the reputed conjunction of four planets in the reign of *Chuan Hsiü*, circa 2100 B.C., which is referred to in the *T'ung Chien K'ong Mu*.

This may very well be true but the student will not be so happy with regard to de Saussure's somewhat dogmatic statement as to non-Chinese origin.

The relation and priority of the 28 *Hsü* to the 27 or 28 Hindu Nakshatras has been much discussed by Biot, the two Burgesses, Whitney and others, without any final conclusion. Biot favoured the greater antiquity of the *Hsü*, but the Nakshatras are referred to in the Vedas, whose date is certainly not later than early Chou times.

De Saussure was satisfied as to the considerable antiquity of the Iranic tradition as to the Nakshatras in the Bundahish but to push the date back to 2500 B.C. seems over bold. (See S.B.E. Vol. 47).

The 30 stars of the Babylonians (see Diodorus Siculus and the cuneiform tablets described in PSBA Vol. XII) may be the source of the Nakshatras.

One striking feature of the *Yao Tien* text is its absence of reference to agriculture, in spite of its being a climatic calendar. This may be a (negative) proof of antiquity.

The Elliot-Smith "diffusion of culture" theory certainly involves an eastward flow of calendaric ideas. If we proceed on the rough and ready principle that the Solar calendar originated in Egypt in 4241 B.C. (see Meyer's "Egyptian Chronology") and arrived in China in say 1500 B.C., a Persian phase in 2500 B.C. is quite reasonable, but this is somewhat *ad hoc*!

All chronology problems prior to 1000 B.C. are tantalising. The Egyptian temple and tomb astronomical inscriptions of about 1300 B.C. are all rough copies of older lost documents. Two or three fragmentary records fix *Sothiac* (heliacal ascents of Sirius) dates back to about 1900 B.C., but whether the Egyptian *Sothiac* cycle was determined in 4241 B.C. or in about 2800 B.C. is still somewhat doubtful.

The 366 day period of the *Yao Tien* seems to refer to the modified predynastic Egyptian year of 360 days¹ which was probably adopted in Mesopotamia prior to 3000 B.C. and adjusted there by two intercalary 30 day months (not moons) every 10 years,² making an average of 366 days. There is still scope for research on this subject.

H.C.

¹ The oldest calendar was doubtless lunar and the lunar month survived as a religious period in all the great nations of antiquity.

² A. Soss (60) of days in a *Sar* (3600 days).

State-Socialistic Attempts in Ancient and Medieval China, a remarkably interesting monograph in Vgl. den Vortrag in der Philos. Histor. Kl. d. Preuss. Akad. d. W. vom 23 April, 1931, by Professor Dr. O. Franke, Berlin University, appears in summarized form in *Forschungen und Fortschritte*, Nachrichtenblatt der Deutschen Wissenschaft und Technik (Berlin. 7 Jahr. Nr. 19. 1 Juli 1931) from which the following was translated by the late Dr. A. J. Walk.

The idea of the intervention by the State in the formation of market prices, and the superintendence by monopolies of vital products can be traced in China from about the 7th century B.C. to the 12th century A.D. Those interventions and monopolies extended especially over salt and iron utensils (used for agricultural production and evaporation of salt) and also over rice and millet. But the actual motives for these interferences were furnished above all by financial stringency of the Government, and only secondly by the endeavour to help the poorer classes, and therefore were more of a fiscal than of a socialistic nature. Best known to occidental sinology are the state-socialistic attempts of Wang Mang during the Han period, and of Wang An-shih, famous statesman during the Sung dynasty. But Chinese historical works report also quite a number of similar ventures.

The oldest of which we know, is the salt and iron monopoly which was introduced by Kuan Chung in Ts'i (the present Shantung) during the first half of the 7th century B.C. An especially interesting state-socialistic venture is reported at the beginning of the 4th century B.C. In Wei (the Southern parts of present Shensi and Shansi), Li K'uei, a man with strong social perceptions, tried to solve the problem of regulating the prices of grain with a view of leaving to the peasants a fair profit without making the rest of the population pay excessive prices. Li K'uei decreed that in case of a good harvest, all grain in excess of a certain quantity must be sold to the government, and that grain be stored in specially built warehouses. Further, when prices receded, the State intervened with purchases, and in an unduly rising market sold its stock at the former low quotations. This assured the peasants of a comparatively steady and satisfactory price for their product without impairing the consumers' desire for a reasonable price, and made the public, to a certain extent, independent of bad harvests.

Later on we find a comprehensive economic activity of the State under the Han dynasty during the 2nd century B.C. The wars against the Huns and Tanguts and the Central Asiatic oasis states required large expenditures. In order to cover these, a strict enforcement of the Imperial monopolies on salt and iron were ordered in 119 B.C. Furthermore, to eliminate the private trading in foods, a huge organization was called into life in 110 B.C. A system of provincial "adjustment authorities" with a central "price-

regulation board" was established, and supposed to work much on the same principles as Li K'uei's institution, however, with the aim of leading the dealer's profits towards the public treasury. These plans which are connected with the name of minister Sang Hung-yang furnished the prototype for Wang Mang's attempts.

Wang Mang was stimulated by the idea of reconstructing the medieval state, as visualized by the literary men of the 1st century A.D., i.e. in the form of perfect bureaucratic state socialism. Thus, among others, Wang Mang introduced the state economy of not only salt and iron, but also that of alcohol, coins, mines, "seas, marshes, swamps." Furthermore, he created a system of equalization-boards that were in charge of fixing in their districts the average prices of commodities which supplied primary necessities, such as clothing and food. They had to uphold these prices by sales and purchases. The purpose of these surpluses created by Wang Mang's monopolies was to serve as cash credit for the population in case this money was needed for the improvement of agricultural land, funeral festivities, or sacrificial services. The loans were partly extended without interest charges, partly on a 10% yearly basis, or 3% per month. This system, which paralyzed the entire economy, collapsed after three years and contributed effectively to the forthcoming catastrophe of the whole state.

We can find the best and most efficient form of salt monopoly during the T'ang period in the 8th century. It originated with Liu Yen, one of the greatest ministers of finance and economy China ever had. It consisted in combining the salt monopoly with free trading, inasmuch as the salt, when increasing beyond a certain quantity, was passed on to free trading, but, at the same time, the state supplies were to be used for the regulation of prices. The system has remained the basis of salt monopoly until the present time, which even now provides one of the most important incomes of Chinese finance and serves as security for foreign loans. The state socialistic organizations of Wang An-shih in the 11th century were splendid and were led by the best intentions. He aimed above all to improve the precarious situation of the peasants by controlling the professional middlemen, in limiting their profits and helping the peasants with cash credits, similarly to Wang Mang. The former wanted to accomplish his objectives by regulating the system of levies in kind and by combining this with price regulations. Through the big public granaries out of which grain was distributed in times of need to the population partly gratis, partly at low prices, market prices were to be supported by all means at normal levels. Through correct administration, Wang An-shih hoped to have a sufficient supply at his disposal. The bank credits consisted of loans that were given to the peasants either in the form of money or grain-seed and bore interest at 20%. (The Chinese of

olden times were accustomed to rates of interest differing from those among occidental peoples). The loans could be repaid in cash or grain, according to preference. In the big cities "market" or "commodity-bureaux" were established where the merchants could borrow on mortgage. Although the system of Wang An-shih lasted, partly, until 1124, but, according to the reports of his opponents, it led to unheard of misunderstandings which finally caused its ruin.

Almost every state-socialistic venture in China was frustrated and reversed by the same cause: a dishonest officialdom that made common cause with unscrupulous merchants in the interests of personal gains, for which the defenceless populace and even the public exchequer had to pay. Since state intervention in the market desisted from making use of the services of merchants, and even legally barred their activities, their otherwise justified striving for profits was driven to illegal fields. The population, however, invariably showed resistance and not seldom a violent one against a regulation of the markets by the state, as it was always the people who suffered from such a state activity. The excellent theories of Sang Hung-yang, Wang Mang, Wang An-shih and others, were shattered by realities.

E.M.G.

The mutual dependence of their fields and a common secretariat have resulted in close collaboration between the "Committee on the Promotion of Chinese Studies" and the "Committee on Japanese Studies" of the American Council of Learned Societies. After several years of experiment they have evolved a unified programme for the development of their respective studies—to encourage the study of the Chinese and Japanese languages, to provide indispensable aids to study and teaching, to make the results of research by Oriental scholars available in North America, and to stimulate research and publication. Activities in all these four directions are in progress. The committees have been of assistance to a considerable number of younger scholars in securing support—in particular they were able to supplement university fellowships enabling one student to continue the study of Japanese at Leiden and another the study of Chinese at Harvard-Yenching Institute. Funds have been secured for the support for one year of a Training Centre in the Library of Congress at Washington, which will engage, with competent assistance under the direction of Dr. Arthur W. Hummel, two or three younger American scholars in Contributions to a Biographical Dictionary of the Ch'ing Dynasty.

Work will start in September, 1934. Conditions beyond the control of the committees have prevented the immediate commencement of the experimental project in translating a selected section of the Chinese dynastic histories, but the difficulties have been overcome, and no further delay is expected. A Second Summer Seminar in Far Eastern Studies has been held at the University of California in the summer of 1934. A fifth mimeographed current bibliography of articles on China was distributed during the year, and a sixth is in preparation. Other experimental bibliographical enterprises designed to make available to Western scholars the results of research published in the Orient are under way, including C. S. Gardner's Survey of Materials and Facilities for Chinese Studies covering the New England States, and the Middle Atlantic States. *Careers for Students of Chinese Language and Civilization*, a pamphlet prepared by the Committee on the Promotion of Chinese Studies, was published by the American Council, Institute of Pacific Relations, during the year 1933. The first volume of the annual series of monographs in Chinese and related civilizations contains *A List of Technical Terms in Chinese Painting*, by Benjamin March, and *The Literary Inquisition of Ch'ien Lung*, by L. C. Goodrich. The committees held a joint meeting during the annual sessions of the American Oriental Society in New York in April. At the same time they held the Fifth Conference on Far Eastern Studies. About 70 persons attended, and provided very valuable discussion of a memorandum entitled *The Next Move in Far Eastern Studies*, presented by the secretariat. The second *Bulletin on the Progress of Far Eastern Studies in the United States* is well under way.

McGill University makes announcement regarding a project to be carried out in the Gest Chinese Research Library, which has been in existence since 1926. During that period it has grown from a collection of some 8,000 *ts'ê*, or stitched volumes to one of 130,000 *ts'ê* at the present time.

Due to the unusual facilities afforded by the Gest Chinese Research Library, it is proposed to set up in the library an experimental project for a critical English translation of selected and important sections of the great Chinese dynastic histories. The Committee on the Promotion of Chinese Studies of the American Council of Learned Societies (Washington) has offered to the McGill University authorities its aid in this project. This cooperation in such an undertaking may be looked upon as a timely approach by competent scholarship to a major intellectual enterprise in Sinology.

Arrangements are being concluded for the employment of an appropriation of the Carnegie Corporation, placed at the disposal of the American Council of Learned Societies, to support the translation project as an experimental undertaking. While the initial step in this project may begin with some section of one of the dynastic histories of the Han period (202 B.C.—A.D. 220), definite selection will be determined before active work begins.

The January 1934 issue of *The Moslem World* marks the beginning of the twenty-fourth year of the publication of this Quarterly. Considerable space is devoted to China, where the Editor, Dr. S. M. Zwemer of Princeton University, recently spent two months visiting Moslem centers. His editorial on the Fourth Religion of China tells of the early entrance of Islam by sea and by land, its spread and influence, the present-day revival and the Moslem press of China. Mr. Harold D. Hayward contributes an article on the Kansu Moslems of to-day. In addition, there is a Chinese-Moslem calendar for the new year, a frontispiece showing a score of the Islamic magazines published in China, and an excellent map of Sinkiang Province. There is a thoughtful study on Islam and the Mongolian Races, by the Reverend A. C. Hanna of Burma. The Current Topics deal largely with Chinese Islam.

The stupendous task of photographing and reprinting 90,000 sheets, which form about 1,500 volumes or roughly one-tenth of the great Chinese anthology *Ssu K'u Ch'uan Shu* 四庫全書, has been undertaken by the Commercial Press, Ltd. This leading Chinese publishing and printing establishment has been finally authorized by the Ministry of Education at Nanking to republish these 1,500 selected volumes within six months. Extreme care is being taken by the authorities against loss or damage of the precious volumes at the specially constructed buildings in Shanghai. Two large photographing sets have been installed. The books are placed flat on the floor with the cameras turned downward. From 300 to 600 sheets are photographed daily.

The prototype of this great literary collection of the Ch'ien Lung era was the *Yung Lo Ta Tien* 永樂大典, a vast compilation of literary works completed under the third Ming Emperor, Yung Lo, at the beginning of the XVth century. The Emperor ordered his ministers to collect and classify all ancient works into a systematic series. Some three hundred years later, about 1772, the Manchu Emperor Ch'ien Lung ordered a new and greater collection to be made on the model of the *Yung Lo Ta Tien*. This vast work was designated *The Comprehensive Four Treasuries of Literature* in 79,339 volumes, dealing with 3,460 titles. The first edition was housed in the Wên Yüan Ko (文淵閣) in the Forbidden City. This edition was soon followed by another three which were separately deposited at the Wên Su Ko (文溯閣) in Mukden, the Wên Yüan

Ko (文源閣) in Yuen Ming Yuen, Peking, and the Wên Ching Ko (文津閣) in Jehol, all these three places being then imperial resorts. After this, three more sets were completed, and housed in the Wên Hwei Ko (文匯閣), Yangchow; the Wên Tsung Ko (文宗閣), Chinkiang; and the Wên Lan Ko (文瀾閣), Hangchow.

The Wên Tsung Ko and the Wên Hwei Ko had not been enriched with these cultural works for long when the Taiping Rebellion broke out, and in the year 1853 both these two treasuries were burned in the civil war. In the year 1860, there came another catastrophe when the Anglo-French allied troops set fire to China's ancient capital, and as a result, all the precious deposits of the Wên Yüan Ko were reduced to ashes. The Yung Lo Grand Compilation was likewise almost completely burned under foreign gun fire in 1900 in the turmoil of the Boxer Uprising. The *Ssü K'u Ch'uan Shu* in the Wên Tsung Ko, Mukden, was in 1914 removed to Peking and housed in the Pao Ho Palace (保和殿), but in 1926 it was taken back to Mukden. On September 18, 1931, with the fall of Mukden, this set was lost to the Japanese. Up to the present, only three out of the seven sets survive these disasters, one at the Wên Lan Ko, Hangchow; one in the Wên Ching Ko, Jehol, removed to the Peiping Library; and one in the Wên Yüan Ko removed to Shanghai, together with all the other relics of the ancient palace.

A valuable study of these vast literary collections of the Chinese by Professor O. Franke appears in Vol. XXXII of *Mitteil. des Seminars für Orient. Sprachen*, 1914.

E.M.G.

Two valuable reprints have come into the hands of the Editor. The one *The Land of the Tebbus*, by Dr. Joseph F. Rock (with the compliments of the author himself) is of special interest to travelers and geographers. Reprinted from *The Geographical Journal*, Vol. LXXXI, No. 2, February, 1933 (pp. 108-127), it contains an account of mysterious Tebbu Land "a paradise second to none perhaps in the whole of China." This remarkable region lies in the south-west of Kansu, otherwise "a poor dreary province," but separated from the rest of Kansu by a great limestone range, known as the Min Shan. Dr. Rock's article is illustrated by magnificent photographs of the mountain ranges and passes, one of which, the Kwangke pass, rises to a height of 12,550 feet. The second reprint is by the eminent Buddhist scholar Baron A. von Staël-Holstein, "On a Peking, a St. Petersburg, and a Kyoto reconstruction of a Sanskrit stanza transcribed with Chinese characters under the Northern Sung dynasty." This is from the Ts'ai Yüan P'ei Anniversary Volume (Supplementary Volume I of the Bulletin of the Institute of History and Philology of the Academia Sinica) published at Peiping in 1932.

The Editor has received the following interesting letter from Professor Charles R. Lanman, Dean of American Sanskritists, and an Honorary Member of this Society, from his home at 9 Farrar Street at Cambridge, Mass., seat of Harvard University:

"Please accept my thanks for the sixty-fourth volume of the *Journal*. It is pleasant to think that your *Journal* has been, almost since the middle of the last century, a respected and widely-known repository of learned papers upon the varied aspects of Chinese civilization. And it is with special interest that I observe the notice (taken on page vii) of the fact that the *Journal* of the American Oriental Society (of which I was for some years the Editor) has made its Sinological Section alive *in fact* as well as in name. With sympathy and best wishes I note that the world-wide depression is felt with you, quite as with us. It behooves us to face the future with sustained courage and cheerful looks. Presently I hope to despatch to you a copy of volume 37 of the Harvard Oriental Series. It is Buddha's Teachings: being the Sutta-Nipata or Discourse-Collection, edited in the original Pali with an English version facing it, by Lord Chalmers, Master of Peterhouse of Cambridge University."

The 150th birthday anniversary of Dr. William Jardine, founder of the illustrious mercantile dynasty of Jardine, Matheson & Co., was celebrated this year with all due recognition of the greatness of this far-sighted pioneer in Anglo-Chinese trading relations. One of the most significant acts in Dr. Jardine's varied and fruitful career remains to be noted here, a subvention to the great sinologue Dr. James Legge which enabled him to publish his epochal translations of the Chinese classics. Dr. Legge credits his benefactor appropriately in the Introductory note to his great series of translations.

Further evidences of the comparatively little known richness of Chinese literature are shown once more in the 1931-32 annual report "Orientalia Added" of the Division of Orientalia of the Library of Congress (Washington, D.C.), prepared by Dr. Arthur Hummel. The actual accessions of Chinese works during the year numbered 1,179, comprising 7,782 volumes—bringing the total number of volumes in the Library to 149,800. The Korean items were increased by 33, Manchu 95, Mongolian 26, and the Tibetan by 16. *Ts'ung Shu*, collective works, were increased by 20, and topographical gazetteers by 14. Among the specially interesting

acquisitions were *chüan* 14055-14056, on loan from Dr. John Gilbert Reid, of a hitherto unknown volume of the monumental Ming encyclopaedia *Yung Lo Ta Tien*. The purchase of the private library of the late Dr. Emil Krebs, for many years attaché of the German Legation, Peking, accounts for the additions in the Manchurian, Mongolian and Tibetan fields. The diary of Wu Ju-lun, an eminent scholar long associated with Li Hung-chang, appears among the Library's acquisitions with a discussion on this scholar's influence, as also on the work of the Ming scholar Li Chih and his refusal to subscribe to conventional Confucian standards of his age. The work of critical scholars on ancient texts such as the *Huai Nan-tzû*, the *Hua yang kuo chih*—oldest extant Chinese gazetteer—and the much debated *Chou-li* receives attention. Of special interest and value are notes by Dr. Walter T. Swingle on Chinese herbals and other works on Chinese Materia Medica. The purchase of a first edition of the great herbal, *Pên ts'ao kang mu* of Li Shih-chên, published in 1590, is noted. This edition is of very great interest to western scholars because it gives the earliest printed account yet found of the introduction and spread of maize in China.

E. M. G.

SUMMARIES OF LECTURES DELIVERED BEFORE THE SOCIETY 1933-1934.

These summaries do not include lectures published elsewhere in the *Journal* in full. The Editor acknowledges his indebtedness, when not otherwise stated, largely to the Shanghai press, especially the *North China Daily News & Herald* and the *China Press*, for the following excellent reports of lectures delivered before the Society.

Mr. D. Bourke-Borrowes, for more than a decade identified with afforestation in British India, and for three years a forestry adviser to the Siamese government, spoke on "The Importance of Forestry in Asia" before the Society on November 2nd, 1933.

Forestry may be described as systematic and scientific organization and working for forests, the speaker said. To show the importance of forestry in Asia, he began by comparing what has been done in British India during the past 50 years or so with what has been done, or left undone, in other parts of Asia.

Excluding Japan, which the speaker said he was not competent to discuss, greater progress has been accomplished by the British in India than in any other part of Asia. Forestry in India started as far back as the early 60s of the last century. The main reason for the successful results obtained lies in the fact that the government has always pursued a definite and continuous forest policy, which has involved the provision of adequate finance, suitable legislation and a trained staff to carry out the work and gradually to build up a high standard of technique, Mr. Borrowes said.

Passing on to other parts of Asia, Mr. Borrowes said that what the government in British India has done has had good reactions in some of the larger Indian states, the governments of which have done a good deal to conserve and develop their forest resources. Again, the British foresters have carried forestry into the F.M.S. and British Borneo.

Of the three foreign nations which have practiced scientific forestry in various parts of Asia, namely, the Dutch in Java and Sumatra, the French in Indo-China and the Americans in the Philippine Islands, the speaker said he has only scattered infor-

mation derived from publications but it is well known that these nations have accomplished excellent work in their respective spheres.

Turning to the work carried out by the independent Oriental states in Asia, the speaker said the record is of a different nature, with the exception of the Japanese, whose care and love of forests and trees generally is unsurpassed. In this connection, he mentioned the splendid afforestation work that has been carried out by the Japanese in central and southern Korea.

As far as he knew, Mr. Borrowes said, the only independent Oriental country in Asia (excepting Japan) which has a record of continuous work in forestry, is Siam. For three years, Mr. Borrowes was forest adviser to the Siamese government.

Next to Burma, Siam perhaps has the richest forest vegetation in all Asia with a valuable forest export trade, notably in teak timber. A Forest Department was established in Siam nearly 40 years ago. In spite of the great opportunities in the past, the results have been most disappointing, mainly due to the lack of any progressive policy by the Siamese government.

Far too little attention has been paid to the more unfashionable and unobtrusive subjects, such as scientific agriculture and systematic forestry in which the ultimate benefits are slow but sure.

Finally coming to China, Mr. Borrowes said that from various publications, notably the *China Journal* he had gathered the following points:

"The existing forest areas in China are being exterminated by the local population with ever increasing rapidity. This destruction is getting worse every year. Perhaps the most melancholy examples are to be found in the provinces of Shansi and Hopei or Chihli where the splendid forests are being blotted out wholesale and the timber usually burnt on the spot. The lands thus cleared on the steep hill and mountain slopes are being cultivated without terracing. Naturally, in two or three years time the slope is reduced to bare rock, while the soil washed down into the rivers spreads destruction on the plains beneath.

"The appalling inundations which occur almost every year in China, involving almost incredible losses in lives, livestock, and property are mainly due to the dis-forestation and denudation in the catchment areas of the two large rivers concerned.

"Immense tracts of formerly fertile country in northern China have become or are becoming barren deserts owing to the invasion of shifting sands from central Asia. The reason for this lies in the wholesale removal of tree-growth which kept back and fixed down these sands.

"Vast quantities of timber which might be grown profitably in China are being imported annually.

"I gather that, as yet, no remedial measures worthy of mention have been undertaken by the government and also that there is only one province in China where private individuals have the habit of planting trees—in Fukien province."

Concluding, the speaker expressed the hope that the Chinese National Economic Council, in carrying out its mission of rural relief and rehabilitation and the development of China's industries, would realize that agriculture is the staple industry of China and that hand in hand with agriculture goes forestry and arboriculture.

Anomalies in the distribution of the fauna and flora of China were told in detail by Mr. A. de C. Sowerby, Director of the Royal Asiatic Society museum, in a lecture delivered in the Society's auditorium on December 14, 1933.

China, both faunaistically and topographically, is a place of scientific interest, Mr. Sowerby declared. Its animals are as unusual in the manner in which they are distributed over the country, as is the contrast between its towering mountains and low sweeping plains and swamps.

Tropical forms of plants and animals are found in the north in some regions, while desert forms are mixed with forest species in other districts. In the north live animals and birds known in Europe.

Mr. Sowerby divided China generally into three main zones—the Tartarian zone, comprising the Yellow River basin and the Jehol area; the oriental zone, including the great Yangtsze River basin, and the sinian zone, made up of the territory of South China.

In the Tartarian zone evidences that it was once the home of such tropical animals as the rhinoceros, elephant and water buffalo are found in the remains of these same creatures. This area is also frequented by European types, which, Mr. Sowerby stated, found their way into the zone by coming east through Siberia to the region near the Pacific and then turning south. Jumping rats, antelope and other desert animals are also found in this zone, native to Central Asia, and are believed to have originated in the latter region.

The Oriental zone presents a number of animals and birds—the pheasant, giant and small panda, fresh-water jelly fish and others—that are typically Chinese and not found elsewhere in the world.

The sinian zone is noteworthy for the migration of animals from the Himalaya area, found even in Fukien and in the mountains of the island of Formosa. Indian plants, animals and birds are to be seen in profusion also in this zone.

Generally speaking, the lecturer said, the plant life of China in its unusual occurrence, follows that of the animal life.

The evolution of Chinese medicine was traced from the earliest historical beginnings in this country, more than 5,000 years ago, through many colorful and eventful periods down to present-day medical knowledge of *materia medica*, in a lecture given by Dr. Bernard E. Read at the Royal Asiatic Society building on January 12, 1934.

In studying the medical history of any people, Dr. Read said, it generally falls into three periods, each of which follows and grows out of the other, viz: 1, instinctive, 2, mystical, and 3, philosophical periods. Dr. Read has found in his studies of early Chinese medicines that many of the items used as medicine by early-day Chinese were much the same as those used in India and other parts of Asia. He has also discovered that China has borrowed medicines from Near-Eastern countries and that they reached China during the earlier and middle part of the entire period under discussion.

Taking the Pên Ts'ao Ching era Dr. Read said that 130 plants, 19 grains, 17 vegetables, 17 fruits, three trees, two waters, three earths, 12 animals, 32 minerals, 17 insects, five molluscs, 10 fishes and 11 birds were introduced by medical practitioners of the time.

An interesting interlude in the long history of Chinese medicine was that when alchemy was attempted by the Chinese. Dr. Read believes experiments of this sort were carried on as early as 100 B.C. One of the most popular ideas at the time was to try to turn gold into a liquid form so that it could be taken orally and so give the person who drank the liquid gold a great life-span. Attempts were also made to turn the baser metals into gold.

Dr. Read stated that many of the practices of earlier Chinese doctors are still adhered to. "Generally speaking, the Chinese have an evolution in medicine that has no parallel anywhere else in the world."

Among the modern scientifically accepted medicines, numbering some 1,880, but 60 of the old Chinese forms are used. Dr. Read stated that this did not mean that all of the hundreds of other Chinese medicines were useless. "They were not, however, of outstanding worth."

"My 1933 Journey through Yunnan and Kweichow (via Tonkin)" was the subject of a lecture by Mr. Emil S. Fisher, at the Royal Asiatic Society Hall on January 25, 1934.

Mr. Fisher's lecture, illustrated by slides, was most informative. Pictures were shown portraying the down-coast trip through Foochow, Amoy, Swatow, Hongkong, Macao, Canton, and to the starting point of his journey at Hanoi in Tonkin, French Indo-China.

From Hanoi, Mr. Fisher's party went north passing the border between Tonkin and Yunnan into Yunnan province and to Yunnanfu. From Yunnanfu, the party proceeded to Kweiyang and Chungking.

Mr. Fisher's lecture was particularly enhanced by the colored slides which showed the nature of the territory through which he passed. Much of his traveling was through mountains and mountainous regions. In the Yunnan region, he encountered many tribes who were not Chinese and the pictures of members of these tribes in their native costumes were most interesting.

While Mr. Fisher's journey from Canton to Chungking took a long time, if the proposed air route now being surveyed by Captain Allison is deemed feasible, the Canton-Chungking airline via Yunnanfu can easily be accomplished in two days.

The artistic and archaeological aspects of early wandering tribes were interestingly described by Mrs. Dagny Carter in her illustrated lecture on "The Art of the Nomad" at the Shanghai Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society, on March 14, 1934.

Mrs. Carter has a particular interest in the art of nomadic life and has spent much of her time collecting specimens and doing original research in this field. Her lecture reflected her efforts.

Starting with the earliest finds of nomadic tribe remains, Mrs. Carter presented an historical summary of these and the most modern discoveries, showing how in succession valuable specimens were found in the Black Sea region, Finland, Siberia, Suiyuan province in China, and Persia. One of the most recent discoveries was found by a Soviet explorer in the Altai mountains.

Mrs. Carter's valuable collection of slides depicting collections from all over the world were of particular interest. They admirably illustrated one of her main points: that artistic forms of nomadic life in scattered parts of the world show striking points of similarity and remarkable craftsmanship.

On March 22, 1934 Mr. R. Vivian Dent delivered a fascinating lecture before the Society on "The Ruins of Angkor," illustrating his account of a visit to this famous place with a hundred and eighty exceedingly beautiful lantern slides made from his own photographs. Besides describing the ruins in some detail, Mr. Dent propounded the thesis that, contrary to the generally accepted belief that the temples and religion of ancient Cambodia were Hinduistic, they were Buddhistic, basing his contentions on the presence in the temples of typical images of Buddha, the interpretation of the so-called flower-design screen which forms a background for various deities as the flame-design screen of Buddhistic art, and the constant appearance in the decorations of the seven-headed Naga and the Garuda, both of which were borrowed from Hinduism by Indian Buddhism. There was no time after the lecture for any discussion, but it may here be suggested as an alternative to Mr. Dent's thesis that both Hinduism and Buddhism were accepted by the builders of the magnificent temples whose ruins now lie scattered throughout the jungles of Cambodia, or, perhaps, they favoured a combination or hybrid religion combining features of both of these great religions of India. The Hall was packed to capacity, the lecture being greatly appreciated.—*Resumé by courtesy of China Journal.*

The teaching of Mahayana Buddhism, which originated in India about the second century B.C. and was later introduced into Tibet, China, Korea and Japan emphasizing the doctrine of emptiness or void, was elucidated by Professor D. T. Suzuki of Tokyo University, at the Royal Asiatic Society on May 10, 1934.

Mahayana Buddhism, though later in assuming an organized and systematic creed than Hinayana Buddhism, prevails in the Far East, and it may be viewed from both its philosophical or theological and practical aspects, the speaker said.

The phrase "to get to the other shore of life" very well sums up the doctrine of Mahayana Buddhism, Professor Suzuki stated. But this does not necessarily mean that one leaves or abandons this side of life, which is characterized by trouble, woe, and inconsistencies, for without having this shore of life as a basis one will not be in a position to appreciate the blessings and perfection on the other side.

Transcendental knowledge or the notion of uplifting oneself to the plane of perfection is generally represented by six virtues. The first of them is morality by living according to the precepts of the Buddha. Charity comes second, the speaker said, and this consists of giving not only material things but also one's life itself in order to propagate the gospel.

The third virtue is untiring effort or utmost exertion in pursuing the cause of life and the numberless lives that follow. Here is the fundamental Buddhist doctrine of eternity or immortality. Forms of life may change but the essence remains the same. This is best expressed by the Buddhist phrase "numberless lives that are to follow the present one," Professor Suzuki said.

Self-denial, humility, meekness or patience and endurance all contribute to interpret the fourth virtue in Mahayana Buddhist teaching, as well as meditation, which does not mean sitting idle and doing nothing but really means preparation for the next action. Energy reserved and kept ready for action represents the fifth virtue, according to the speaker.

The sixth virtue is hard to translate and for lack of a better term it may be described as intuition, the speaker said. To get to the bottom of bottoms and to live until every life including all forms of being such as animal, plant and minerals, is saved, this is the essence of the Mahayana Buddhism teachings, the professor concluded.

For the first time since her return to Shanghai, Dr. Florence Ayscough on May 12, 1934 addressed the Royal Asiatic Society, tracing the inter-relationships of calligraphy, painting and poetry in Chinese culture in a fascinating and comprehensive lecture. Dr. Ayscough opened her discussion with the statement that, "If art be the fine flower of man's spirit, it is important to recognize the root from which it springs." Upon this thesis she carried her audience back into the very beginnings of Chinese culture, to the Yin and Yang principles upon which the Chinese theory of origins and creation is founded.

A comprehension of the philosophy which amalgamates all "created things," in a close brotherhood, sourced in Yin and Yang, is essential to the realization of the three principal arts in China, calligraphy, poetry and painting, said Dr. Ayscough. This statement she illustrated with lantern slides graphically tracing the development of calligraphy, as well as depicting the highly developed sense of design apparent as far back as 2,500 B.C., and relating those charming legends which have been used by the Chinese to explain "origins" lost in the dawn of Time.

After delineating the various transitions apparent after a survey of original pictographs, Dr. Ayscough presented a chronological and scholarly outline of the parallel development of "painted writing and written painting." Throughout her talk, she cleverly illustrated each point, logically developing a complex theme in an authoritative manner which lost none of its charm

when she analysed the inspiration of the poet within the maze extending through some 4,500 years of evolution. Emphasizing the restraint apparent in the six forms of painting, Dr. Ayscough pointed out the necessity of calligraphy in the attainment of that balance in design so typical of Chinese art.

In a brief and convincing exposition, she recalled the invention of paper in China, observing that with the material at hand to "write a picture or to paint a poem," the Chinese utilized the same terms. From this point onwards, she disclosed the ingenuity of artists who contrived unity through the combined use of all three arts, calligraphy, poetry, and painting.

"They made expeditions to the hills," said the speaker referring to the gifted scholars of the past, "where they listened to what they describe as the 'Music of Silence,' where they watched the Dragon float by in the clouds he governs, and heard the Tiger growl in the wind it controls. Then they were inspired to *write*—a poetic frenzy seized them, and it is not to be doubted that, in the brush, the Chinese and Japanese possess a medium for the expression of emotion denied us . . . and whether that which drops from his brush is a writing or an image it is that which is indefinable, untranslatable, universal . . . that which is poetry."

OBITUARY

HOSEA BALLOU MORSE, A.B. (Harvard University), L.L.D. D.
in London, February 20, 1934.

An honorary member of this Society with which he had been associated since 1888, the passing of Dr. Morse removes a great authority on the international relations of the Chinese empire. Born under the British flag at Brookfield, Nova Scotia, on 18th July, 1855, he graduated from Harvard University (U.S.A.) in 1874 with the degree A.B. On the 20th August of the same year with three other Harvard graduates, all of whom enjoyed long and distinguished careers in the same service (Messrs. Spinney, Drew and Merrill), he joined the Imperial Chinese Maritime Customs as 4th Assistant B. Thereupon followed thirty-two years of varied posts which gave him periods of service at Tientsin, Peking, at the London Office, at Canton, Hankow and Shanghai, as well as at such remoter ports as Hangchow, Pakhoi, Tamsui, and Lungchow. While Commissioner at Hankow he was detached for special duty in connection with the opening of Yochow and, as a result, of Changsha, then commonly regarded as an especially turbulent community. He acquitted himself of these duties with marked tact and effectiveness. Other special incidents of his service career were his early assignment as Assistant Statistical Secretary in 1888, foreshadowing his full appointment as Statistical Secretary (1903-1907); and his appointment as Commissioner in 1896. From time to time his services were specially recognized by the Chinese Government, involving by Imperial decree the decoration of the Double Dragon (3rd Division, 2nd and 1st Classes) and Civil Rank of the Third and Second Classes. As late as 1923 Dr. Morse was granted the Decoration of the *Chia Ho*, 2nd Class, by Presidential Mandate. He retired from the Chinese Customs Service at the close of 1909. Full thus of honours for valued and loyal service to an alien government, Dr. Morse's claim to fame lies still more in the patient years of research and compilation which he earlier carried on concurrently with his service duties, and which later made the years of his retirement richly productive. His works soon became standard in all libraries on China: *The Gilds of China* (1909), *The Trade and Administration of China* (revised 1913), and *The International Relations of the Chinese Empire* (3 vols.,

1910-1918). The latter work originally ending with the Revolution of 1911, has been carried down into 1927 with the collaboration of Professor H. F. MacNair under the title *Far Eastern Relations* (1928; rev. ed. 1931). The original work is, however, of special value and interest because of the many footnotes, often of an intimate nature such as excerpts from Sir Robert Hart's characteristic demi-official letters to his officers in the outports or in Korea. The only criticism which may be levelled at this work is its almost exclusive reliance upon foreign documentation, with practically no reference to Chinese archival material. The flower of Dr. Morse's achievement in historiography is his monumental *The Chronicles of the East India Company Trading to China, 1635-1834* (5 vols., 1926, 1929), while a departure from more serious scholarship and in the field of historical romance, is his delightful and informative *In the Days of the Taipings*. Dr. Morse's life was one of meticulous attention to official duty, with a fine conception of the relationship which a foreign servant of the Chinese government should maintain towards his patrons as exemplified in his delicate handling of the opening of Yochow; with an enthusiasm for clear, accurate and objective historical compilation; and with a modest merging of his own personality in these, as he believed, more important achievements. Like the immortal Samuel Pepys, the recollection of the public official will fade as the literary fame of Hosea Ballou Morse continues to grow.

ESSON M. GALE.

Professor Dr. WILHELM OTHMER. B. December 16, 1882, at Uthwerdum, Ostfriesland; d. January 7, 1934. Life Member of this Society.

German overseas communities, and German scientific institutions in general, have lost through the death of Professor Dr. Othmer one of their worthiest and most gifted pioneers in East Asia. Innumerable friends beyond these circles, especially scholarly and professional groups, will likewise deeply mourn him. Very early Professor Othmer displayed unusual aptitudes and talents, which he applied to the study of classical and modern languages, and to geography and history. While at preparatory school and university he attracted the attention of leading German Scholars. In 1900 when scarcely 18, he matriculated at the University of Greifswald, and on January 10, 1904, before reaching 22 he obtained the Ph. D. degree. The following two years he utilized in preparation for the State examinations, and at the same time completed his military duties. While a student of the celebrated German scientist von Richthofen his interest was drawn

to China and he arrived at Peking in 1907 with the intention of there establishing a German school. In 1909 he settled down in the German-Chinese high school at Tsingtao. The tranquil course of his richly productive labours there was interrupted by the war. Serving as an officer throughout the siege of Tsingtao, after its capture he passed to Japan as a prisoner of war. It was during his stay at Tsingtao that he brought out his well known text book of Chinese, *Lessing-Othmer*, which still without doubt remains one of the most effective systems of instruction for the spoken and written language. Even during his imprisonment he showed the greatness of his character by tireless effort and labour. After the war he joined the faculty of Tungchi University at Woosung near Shanghai, where he filled a deanship as well as enjoying numerous positions of honour in the nearby German community at Shanghai. He founded the local group of the Deutsche Gesellschaft fuer Natur-und Voelkerkunde Ostasiens for which he acted as chief representative until his death, being likewise one of the founders and till the end the representative of the local society of the China-Institutes Frankfurt am Main. In scholarship he ranked without question among the most accomplished sinologues who have worked in the Orient. His love of Chinese literature led him to serve with unusual enthusiasm as German representative on the Committee for the restoration of the Oriental Library, whose priceless literary treasures had been lost in the burning of Chapei. Shortly before his final journey homeward the Central University of Nanking conferred upon him an honorary doctorate. As a man whose spirit of co-operation was untiring, whose knowledge was profound, and as a sinologue of acknowledged fame, his friends and admirers throughout the world lament the passing of one of the finest and worthiest of their fellowmen.

VON A. GLATHE

(Translated from the German).

SIDNEY FRANCIS MAYERS. B. at Winchester, England, March 19, 1873; d. at London, February 18, 1934.

A gentleman of unusual personal charm and marked versatility, Mr. Mayers represented a type of resident in the Far East in whom one could find much satisfaction. A flair for Chinese scholarship cultivated in a career of some fifteen years in the British consular service and initiated upon his appointment as student interpreter at Peking in 1895, provided him with a sympathetic approach to China, its problems and his Chinese associates. An official career in which he served variously as British Assessor in the Mixed

Court, Shanghai, acting Vice Consul, Shanghai, and assistant and Acting Chinese Secretary and Vice Consul at Peking, prepared him for the partly official and partly commercial responsibilities associated with his duties with the Pekin Syndicate (1910) and later as Representative in China of the British and Chinese Corporation, Ltd., whose Board in London he joined in 1927, becoming chairman in 1928. Those who recall the earlier days of polo on the picturesque Peking glacis will continue to associate Mr. Mayers with some of the fastest playing despite his weight, while he was equally a prominent figure at the P'ao-ma-ch'ang and the Peking Club. The deep regret at his untimely passing may be tempered somewhat for his many friends in the Far East with the thought that a final opportunity was offered to meet him on the occasion of his general tour of China in the autumn of 1933. Deeply impressed with the vast changes, psychological and physical, which had overtaken the land which he had first known in ultra-conservative Manchu days, he made his final adieu with a message of gratification and optimism. His passing removes from the Anglo-Chinese community one who combined the virtues of the "old China hand" with the forward-looking vision of one who was ready to welcome and assist the coming of a new China.

E. M. G.

Dr. ANTON J. WALK, died November 21st, 1933. Dr. Walk was born in Vienna and educated in the public schools of that city and later at the University of Frankfort-on-the-Main, specialising in political economy and public finance. For some years he was with the well known Trieste firm of Fco. Glanzmann, and in 1927 was transferred to their Shanghai office. At the termination of his contract he accepted a post with the Chinese Government Salt Administration with the rank of Co-District Inspector, which position he took up on his return from a brief furlough at home.

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Wayside Plants and Weeds of Shanghai, by W. M. Porterfield, 1933.
Sino-Russian Relations in Manchuria (1892-1906), by J. J.
Gapanovich, 1933.
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The Abolition of Slavery in the Chinese Empire, by E. T. Williams.
Chinese Social Institutions as a Foundation for Republican
Government, by E. T. Williams.
The Open Ports of China, by E. T. Williams.
China at the Washington Conference, by E. T. Williams.
Symbolism in Chinese Art, by E. T. Williams.
Poetry in China, by E. T. Williams.
Treaty Obligations and Treaty Observance in Manchuria, by
E. T. Williams.
Japan and Jehol, by E. T. Williams.
Japan's Mandate in the Pacific, by E. T. Williams.
A Short History of China, by E. T. Williams.
China Yesterday and Today, Fifth Edition Revised, 1932, by
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Weights and Measures in China, by A. V. Marakueff.
History of Mathematics in China, by A. V. Marakueff.
Chinese Typewriters, by A. V. Marakueff.
Ten Years of Oriental Studies in the Soviet Far East by
A. V. Marakeuff.
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Foreign Trade of China, by A. V. Marakueff.
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Presented by Mr. M. Voigt:

- Kung-Tse Leben Und Werk, von Richard Wilhelm, 1925.
The Vanished Empire, by B. L. Putnam Weale, 1926.
Travels of a Consular Officer in Eastern Tibet together with a History of the Relations between China, Tibet and India, by E. Teichman, 1922.
Kiesselalgen aus Asien, von F. Meister, 1932.
Pflanzenbiologie in Japan auf Grund eigener Beobachtungen, von Dr. Hans Molisch, 1926.
Beneath Tropic Seas, by W. Beebe, 1932.
Monsuch: Land of Water, by W. Beebs, 1932.
Sea-shore Life, by A. G. Mayer, 1911.
Unexplored Spain, by A. Chapman and W. J. Buck, 1910.

Presented by Mr. R. D. Abraham:

- My Life as an Explorer, by Sven Hedin, 1926.
A Catalogue of Paintings recovered from Tun-Huang by Sir Aurel Stein, by Arthur Waley, 1931.

Presented by Dr. Evan Morgan:

- Noted Porcelain of Successive Dynasties with Comments and Illustrations by Hsiang Yuen Pien, revised by Kuo Pao-chang and John C. Ferguson.
A Brief Survey of German Works on Modern Chinese History, by J. Gilbert Reid, 1933.

Presented by Dr. Esson M. Gale:

- Chronological Biography of Shao Er-Yuin, by Hwang Yuin-Mei (in Chinese).
Commentary on "Tzu Yuen," by Tsai Chen (in Chinese).
Research Needs and Opportunities in China, 1932.
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Constitution Provisoire et Lois Organiques de la Republique Chinoise, 1932.
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The Social Philosophy of Pensions, by H. S. Pritchett, 1930.
A Guide to the Chinese-Japanese Library of Harvard University.
National Libraries in China, by A. Kaiming Chiu, 1933.
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Paintings and Sculptures Illustrated.
Three Lectures on Chinese Folklore, by R. D. Jameson, 1932.
T'ang Love Stories, by S. Y. Shu, 1932.
Chinese Proverbs, by C. H. Plopper, 1932.
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Mandarin Tones Made Easy, by Grace C. Agar, 1933.

PRESENTATIONS AND ADDITIONS TO THE LIBRARY 213

Presented by Dr. Bernard E. Read:

- The Toxicity of Sodium Hydocarpate, by B. E. Read.
A Comparison of the Action of the Isomers of Amyl Nitrite, by
B. E. Read, K. Y. Yu and T. M. P'eng.
The Question of the Validity of Using Aqueous Extracts for
Estimating Glycogen and Total Carbohydrate of the Liver,
by Chiao Tsai.
Carbohydrate Metabolism of the Liver, I, by Chiao Tsai.
The Mechanism of the Mydriatic Action of Ephedrine, by C. Pak
and T. K. Tang.
Action of Ephedrine on the Portal Circulation, by C. Pak and
B. E. Read.

Presented by T. Y. Chao:

- The Inventor of the Numeral Type for China, by C. F. Gordon-
Cumming, 1898.
Heroic Japan, a History of the War between China and Japan, by
F. W. Eastlake, 1896.
History of India, by Mrs. L. Handyside, 1896.
Forty Years in South China, the Life of Rev. John Van Nest
Talmage, by J. G. Fagg, 1894.
How to Know Oriental Rugs, by M. B. Langton, 1919.
Guide Madrolle—Chine du Sud, à Java et au Japon, 1916.
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Peeps at Many Lands—Japan, by J. Finnemore, 1913.
China in the Family of Nations, by H. T. Hodgkin, 1923.

Presented by Dr. H. C. Patrick:

- The Web of Indian Life by the Sister Nivedita of Ramakrishna-
Vive-Kananda, 1904.

Presented by Mr. E. Fischer:

- Dix Années (1914-1923) de séjours et d'exploration dans le
Bassin du Fleuve Jaune, du Pai Ho et des autres tributaires
du Golfe du Pei tcheu ly, par E. Licent, 1933.

Presented by Mrs. N. A. Viloudaki:

- Victoria and Its Metropolis Past and Present, 2 vols. 1888.

Presented by Dr. K. S. Inui:

- Manchoukuo, Child of Conflict, by K. K. Kawakami.

214 PRESENTATIONS AND ADDITIONS TO THE LIBRARY

Presented by The French Bookstore:

Le Dialect Monguor parlé par les Mongols du Kansou Occidental
IIIe Partie—Dictionnaire Monguor-Français, par A. de Smedt
et A. Mostaert, 1933.

Presented by Chinese American Publishing Co:

China's Geographic Foundations, a Survey of the Land and Its
People, by G. B. Cressey, 1934.

Presented by Dr. W. M. Porterfield:

- A New Culex, Culex Vomifer from Panama, W. H. W. Komp.
- A New Culex from Panama, W. H. W. Komp and D. P. Curry.
- Observations on the Carnivorous Habits of the Spear-Nosed Bat,
L. H. Dunn.
- Observations on Malaria Incidence in some Unsanitated River
Villages in the Republic of Panama, H. C. Clark and W. H. W.
Komp.
- A Second Year's Observation Malaria in some Unsanitated Chagres
River Villages, H. C. Clark and W. H. W. Komp.
- A Preliminary Report on Some Paracites in the Blood of Wild
Monkeys of Panama, H. C. Clark.
- Progress in the Survey for Blood Paracites of the Monkeys of
Panama, H. C. Clark.
- A Simple Method for Collecting Adult Filarial Parasites from
Muscle Tissues of Monkeys, L. H. Dunn.
- Chagas' Disease in Panama, J. W. Miller.
- The Practical and Research Value of Mosquito Traps, C. H. Bath.
- Experimental Efforts to Transfer Monkey Malaria to Man, H. C.
Clark and L. H. Dunn.
- Experimental Efforts to Transfer Monkey Malaria to Man, H. C.
Clark and L. H. Dunn.
- Experimental Transmission to Man of a Relapsing Fever Spirochete
in a Wild Monkey of Panama, H. C. Clark, L. H. Dunn and
J. Benavides.
- Animal Susceptibility to Trypanosoma Hippicum, the Equine
Trypanosome of Panama, H. C. Clark and L. H. Dunn.
- Some Observations on the Nyssorhynchus Group of the Anopheles
of Panama, D. P. Curry.
- Rearing the Larvae of Dermatobia Homini Linn., in Man, L. H.
Dunn.
- An Effective Method for collecting Ecto-parasites from Live
Animals and Birds, L. H. Dunn.
- A Simple Method of Immobilizing Animals for Laboratory Pur-
poses, L. H. Dunn.
- Susceptibility of Bats to Infection with the Horse Trypanosome in
Panama, L. H. Dunn.
- Experiments in the Transmission of Trypanosomes, a Hippicum
Darling with the Vampire Bat, as a Vector in Panama, L. H.
Dunn.

PRESENTATIONS AND ADDITIONS TO THE LIBRARY 215

- Anopheles (Anopheles) Nsomalculipalpus, D. P. Curry.
 Recognition of Anopheles Argyritarsis by the Characteristics of the Male Genitalia, D. P. Curry.
 Human Strongyloidiasis in Panama, E. C. Faust.
 Observations on the Host Selection of Ornithodoros Talaje Cuern., in Panama, L. H. Dunn.
 Two New Species of Ticks from Panama, L. H. Dunn.
 Notes on Relapsing Fever in Panama with Special Reference to Animal Hosts, L. H. Dunn and H. C. Clark.
 Experimental Studies of Chagas' Diseases in Panama, H. C. and L. H. Dunn.
 A Natural Infection of Trypanosoma Crusi Chagas found in Rhodnius Pallescens Barber in Panama. L. H. Dunn.
 Notes on the Tick, Ornithodoros Talaje (Guer.), in the Canal Zone, L. H. Dunn.
 Laboratorios Commemorativos Gorgas, 1930.

Purchased:

- A Diary of the Siege of the Legations in Peking, N. Oliphant, 1901.
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- American Oriental Society, Journal of, Vol. 53 Pt. 1-4 1933, 54 Pt. 1 1934.
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- Chinese Social and Political Science Review. Vol. XVI No. 1 XVII No. 1-3 1933, Vol. XVII No. 4 XVIII No. 1 1934.
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- Geological Bulletin, Geological Survey of China, No. 20-23 1933.
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Presented by Dr. Esson M. Gale.

- The Open Court, Vol. 46, Nos. 914, 916, 919, 1932.
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Presented by B. E. Read.

- The Peking Society of Natural History Bulletin, Vol. I, Vol. II, Pts. 1-4, Vol. III, Pt. 1. Vol. IV, Pt. 2 and Index Vols. I-IV (1926-1930).

NORTH-CHINA BRANCH OF THE ROYAL ASIATIC SOCIETY

LIST OF MEMBERS, 1934.

Members changing address are earnestly requested to
inform the Secretary at once.

Name	Address	Year of Election
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HONORARY MEMBERS

Ayscough, Mrs. F., D. Litt.	72 Penang Road, Shanghai	1906
Barton, Sir Sidney, K.B.E., C.M.G. . .	British Legation, Addis Ababa, Abyssinia	1906
Ferguson, Dr. John C.	3 Hsi Chiao Hutung, Peiping	1896
Forke, Dr. A.	The University, Hamburg, Germany . .	1894
Giles, Prof. Herbert Allen	Selwyn Gardens, Cambridge, England..	1880
Lanman, Prof. Charles R.	Harvard University, 9 Farrer Street, Cambridge, Massachusetts, U.S.A. . .	1908
Lockhart, Sir J. H. Stewart, K.C.M.G.	6 Cresswell Gardens, South Kensington, London, S.W. 5, England	1885
Mason, Isaac, F.R.G.S.	"Suining," Loxwood Avenue, Worthing, Sussex, England	1916
Pelliot, Prof. Paul	38 Rue de Varenne, Paris VII, France	1901
Pott, Dr. F. L. Hawks.. . . .	St. John's University, Shanghai	1913
Putnam, Dr. Herbert	Library of Congress, Washington, D. C.	1908
Sampatrao, H. H. the Prince	Gaekwar of Baroda, India	1898
Williams, E. T., LL.D.	1410 Scenic Avenue, Berkeley, Calif., U.S.A.	1889

Name	Address	Year of Election
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MEMBERS

(The asterisk denotes Life Membership).

Abbott, W. E.	c/o Chief Sanitation Chemist, S.M.C., Shanghai	1926
Abend, Hallett	14 Route Winling, Shanghai	1933
Abraham, Miss A.	83 Peking Road, Shanghai	1933
*Abraham, R. D.	83 Peking Road, Shanghai	1914
Adams, Rev. A. E.	American Baptist Foreign Mission, Hopoo, via Swatow, South China	1923
Adlam, Miss Edith M.	Ellis Kadoorie School, Shanghai	1920
Alexander, John	254 Fulham Road, London, England	1932
Allan, Rev. C. W., C.L.S.	128 Museum Road, Shanghai	1933
Allman, Norwood F.	Hamilton House, Room 206, Shanghai	1932
Ambrose, F. W.	S.M.C. Health Dept., Shanghai	1925
Andersson, Dr. J. G.	c/o Statens Histouska Museum, Stock- holm, Sweden	1919
Appleman, L.	Messrs. Hekking & Clouth, Missions Building, Shanghai	1933
Argelander, F.	M. E. Mission, Kiukiang.	1930
Arlington, L. C.	Chinese Post Office, Peiping	1917
Arnold, H. H.	6 Kiukiang Road, Shanghai	1932
Arnold, Julean H.	Room 502 Dollar Bldg., 3 Canton Road, Shanghai	1904
Bacci, E.	Sennet Frères, Pedder Street, Hong- kong	1934
Bahnson, J. J.	G. N. Telegraph Co., Shanghai	1909
Bahr, A. W.	41 West 49th Street, New York City..	1909
Bailey, R. M.	B. A. T. Securities Co., Ltd., 175 Soochow Road, Shanghai	1925
Baillie, T. G.	Headmaster, Polytechnic Public School, Shanghai	1931
Baker, D. C.	Junior College, Modesto, Cal., U.S.A.	1923
*Barchet, Miss H.	Ningpo	1931
Barnett, Eugene E.	131 Museum Road, Shanghai	1926
Barrie, Dr. Howard	Room 217 Hamilton House, Shanghai..	1920
Barton, Rev. E. Tomlin, B.D. (LOND.)	English Methodist Mission, Wutingfu, Sung.	1934
*Bateman, E. F.	c/o Caldbeck, McGregor & Co., 4 Foo- chow Road, Shanghai	1933
*Bayne, Parker M.	Acadia University, Wolfville, Nova Scotia, Canada	1911
Beale, N. G.	General Elec. Co. of China, Ltd., Shanghai	1932
Beaman, W. F.	332 Avenue Joffre, Shanghai (cor. Rue Chapsal)	1921

LIST OF MEMBERS

221

Name	Address	Year of Election
*Beauvais, J.	Consul-General, Maison Duffan, Place Antoine de Moelhon, Ville franche de Rovergue, Aveyron, France . . .	1900
Bell, A. D.	c/o Shanghai Municipal Council, Shanghai	1933
Beltchenko, A. T.	Portuguese Consulate, Hankow . . .	1918
Bennett, C. R.	National City Bank, Peiping . . .	1933
Bennett, Capt. N. R.	"Sea Mist," Hunteable Hill, Chelston, Torquay, Devon, England . . .	1928
*Bessell, F. L.	c/o Dr. Alderson, 34 Knight's Park, Kingston-on-Thames, England . . .	1905
Beytagh, L. M.		1910
Biallas, Rev. Father Dr. F. X.	The Catholic University, Peiping . .	1927
*Bigel, Emile	Messageries Maritimes, 9/10 French Bund, Shanghai	1925
Binkley, C. K.	Cobb, California, U.S.A.	1934
*Black, S.	Ulvemosevej I, Rungsted, Kyot, Denmark	1910
Blackburn, A. D.	British Consulate-General, Shanghai . .	1917
Boey, P. L. Mingcheng	May Hall, Hongkong University, Hongkong	1929
Boezi, Dr. Guido	25 Via Pietro Borsieri, Rome (149), Italy	1920
Bonin, Dr. G. von	Dept. of Anatomy, Peking Union Medical College, Peiping	1926
Boode, E. P.	25 Bazarstraat, The Hague, Holland . .	1920
*Bookless, A.	Chinese Government Salt Inspectorate, Chungking	1933
Bos, W.	Vlentin (v.), Holland	1923
Bossack, S. B.	Asia Realty Co., Shanghai	1933
Bosworth, Miss S. M.	143 East Washington St., Pasadena, Calif., U.S.A.	1919
Bowden, V. G.	A. Cameron & Co. (China), Ltd., 21 Jinkee Road, Shanghai	1928
Bowen, Mrs. A. J.	975 N. Garfield Avenue, Pasadena, Calif., U.S.A.	1929
*Box, Rev. Ernest	Medhurst, 26 Homesdale Road, Bexhill-on-sea, England	1897
*Brace, Capt. A. J.	Chengtzu, Szechuen	1921
Brand, J. K.	Messrs. Cumming & Brand, H. & S. Bank Building, Shanghai	1933
Bremer, Miss M. A.	Am. Church Mission, Yangchow . . .	1929
Brenan, Sir J. F., K.C.M.G.	British Consulate-General, Shanghai . .	1930
Brenneman, Mrs. J. J.	P.O. Box No. 1444, 15 Museum Road, Shanghai	1922
Brisker, M. G.	c/o The Thatched House Club, 86 St. James' Street, London, W.	1921
Bristow, John A.	Socony Vacuum Co., Shanghai . . .	1933
Brittle, Miss Edith M.	c/o Y. W. C. A., 8c Yuen Ming Yuen Road, Shanghai	1932
*Britton, Roswell S.	430 West 118th St., New York City, U.S.A.	1931

Name	Address	Year of Election
Britland, Rev. A. J. D.	Church of England Mission, Peiping ..	1924
Brooke, J. T. W.	Davies, Brooke & Gran, Shanghai ..	1915
Browett, Harold	34 Museum Road, Shanghai	1891
Brown, I. S.	U.S. Consulate-General, Shanghai ..	1927
Brown, Miss M.	C.L.S., 128 Museum Road, Shanghai ..	1931
Brown, Rev. M.	Shanghai Jewish School, Shanghai ..	1933
Brown, N. S.	Butterfield & Swire, Shanghai	1930
*Brown, Thomas	La Roque, 17 Overton Road, Sutton, Surrey	1885 1918
*Bruce, Edward B.	"Teesdale," 31 Egmont Road, Sutton, Surrey, England	1916
Bryson, Dr. A. C.	Dr. Jackson & Partners, 27 Peking Road, Shanghai	1932
*Buchanan, E. M.	American Oriental Bank, Shanghai ..	1933
Buchler, W.	261 Goldhurst Terrace, London, N.W. 6, England	1930 1915
*Buckens, Dr. F.	Lutheran Theol. Seminary, Shekow, Hupeh	1924
Bugge, Rev. Sten	6 Place de la Concorde, Paris 8c, France	1921
*Buma, C. W. A.	Baptist Mission, West Gate, Shanghai..	1909
Burdick, Miss S. M.	2 Canton Road, Shanghai	1912
Burkill, A. W.	British Wireless Marine Service, 2nd floor, Hongkong Bank Chambers, Callever Quay, Singapore	1923
Burnie, C. M. G.	Union Ins. Soc. of China, Ltd., London	1932
Butland, C. A.	Asiatic Petroleum Co., Tsinanfu ..	1920
Byerly, Miss A. E.	74 Ta Tsao Kai, Wuchang, Hupeh ..	1928
Caldwell, Master J. C.	M. E. Mission, Foochow, Fu	1930
Caldwell, Rev. H. R.	M. E. Mission, Foochow, Fu	1920
Cannan, A. M.	Bisset & Co., J. P., 12 The Bund, Shanghai	1933 1931
Carbone, A. S.	Woosung-Hankow Pilots, Shanghai ..	1928
Carey, H. Foote	G. N. Telegraph Co. of Denmark, Tientsin	1928 1920
*Carpenter, G. B.	2923 Packard Street, Long Island City, N.Y., U.S.A.	1928
Carr, Paul R.	Java-China-Japan Lijn, Shanghai ..	1932
Carrière, J. D.	c/o Hongkong & Shanghai Bank, Shanghai	1921 1930
Cassels, W. C.	American Asiatic Underwriters, 17 The Bund, Shanghai	1924
Chadsey, Mrs. Roy	Ming Hwa Bank, 330 Peking Road, Shanghai	1934
Chang, F.		
Chang, K. P.		

LIST OF MEMBERS

223

Name	Address	Year of Election
Chang, S. C.	1726 Avenue Joffre, Shanghai	1934
Chang Ying-hua	c/o Ta Hwa Petroleum Co., Ltd., 109- 111 Rue Pasteur, Tientsin	1933
Chang Hsin-hai, PH.D.	c/o Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Nanking	1928
Chang, Kwang Tou	Fuh Tan University, Kiangwan	1933
Chang, Sherman H. M., PH.D. ..	Apt. 24, 741 Rue Ratard, Shanghai ..	1933
Chapman III, F. J.	Salt Revenue Administration, Shanghai	1934
Chatley, Herbert, D.Sc.	Whangpoo Conservancy Board, Shanghai	1916
Cheeloo University	Tsinanfu, Shantung	1922
*Chen, K. P.	Shanghai Commercial & Savings Bank, Shanghai	1933
Chen, L. T.	Kincheng Banking Corp., Shanghai ..	1932
*Chen, W. Hanming	c/o North China Daily News, Shanghai	1933
Cheng, Tsee Yoong	700 Weihaiwei Road, Shanghai	1923
Chieri V., Cav. Uff. Dott	The Italian Manufacturers Agency, 320 Kiangse Road, Shanghai	1923
Chou, Mrs. U. T. Bang	House 40, 39 Brenan Road, Shanghai ..	1933
Chu Pei-hao	Bureau of Social Affairs, City Govern- ment of Greater Shanghai, Shanghai	1929
Chu, P. K.	World's Chinese Students' Federation, Shanghai	1932
Claiborne, Miss Elizabeth		1908
Clarke, E. G.	Bisset & Co., J. P., 12 The Bund, Shanghai	1932
Clarke, Miss M. H.	McTyeire School, Shanghai	1928
*Clementi, His Excellency Sir Cecil ..	c/o Admiral C. J. Fyres, D.S.O.	
	16 Burghley Road, Wimbledon, Lon- don, S.W. England	1905
Cleveland, Mrs. F. A.	Salt Revenue Administration, 18 The Bund, Shanghai	1933
Clifton, Baroness		1921
Clubb, O. Edmund, A.B.	American Consulate, Hankow	1931
Coifford, J.	French Consulate-General, Shanghai ..	1934
*Cole, Rev. W. B.	Sien Yu, Fukien	1917
Coleman, N. L.	The Western Apt., 25 Avenue Petain, Shanghai	1934
Cook, Capt. A.	Messrs. Butterfield & Swire, Hongkong	1929
Cook, Cyril B.	Imperial Chemical Industries (China), Ltd., Shanghai	1933
Coole, A. B.	Tientsin Hui Wen Academy, M. E. Church, South Suburb, Tientsin ..	1926
Cooper, Miss G. L.	St. John's University, Shanghai	1928
Corbett, R. J.	Socony-Vacuum Co., Shanghai	1933
Corrie, R. G.		1930
Costenoble, H.	A. Ehlers & Co., Shanghai	1928
Couling, Mrs. C. E.	40 Birchington Road, Crouch End, London, N. 8	1916
Coushnir, I. S.	The Bookstall, 232 Yü Yuen Road, Shanghai	1931
Crampton, C. L.		
*Cressey, Prof. G. B.	Dept. of Geology & Geography, Syracuse University, Syracuse, N.Y., U.S.A.	1925

Name	Address	Year of Election
Cressy, Rev. Earl H.	351 Rue Cardinal Mercier, Shanghai ..	1928
Crokam, W. G.	Caldbeck, MacGregor & Co., Ltd., Shanghai	1932
Crow, C.	21 Jinkee Road, Shanghai	1913
Cumine, H. M.	149 Szechuen Road, Shanghai	1929
Cunningham, Hon. E. S.	American Consulate-General, Shanghai	1922
Currelly, C. T.	Royal Ontario Museum of Archeology, Toronto, Canada	1923
Dale, Rev. Alan T.	English Methodist Mission, Wutingfu, Sung.	1934
D'Alton, V. L.	Chinese Post Office, Shanghai	1924
D'Alton, Mrs. F.	Chinese Post Office, Shanghai	1930
Danton, Prof. G. H.	184 Woodland Ave., Oberlin, Ohio, U.S.A.	1918
*Darch, O. W.	c/o The Asiatic Petroleum Co., Ltd., St. Helens Court, Gt. St. Helens, London E.C. 3, England	1922
Darroch, Rev. J., D.LITT.	Religious Tract Society, Hankow	1928
Davey, W. J.	Lane 150, House No. 17, Tifeng Road, Shanghai	1920
Davis, John K.	American Consulate-General, Van- couver, British Columbia	1927
Davis, Dr. C. Noel		1910
Davis, R. W.	North-China Daily News, Shanghai	1924
D'Elia, Rev. Father P. M., S.J.	Bureau Sinologique, Siccawei	1928
De Korne, Rev. John C.	44 Grove Street, N.E., Grand Rapids, Mich., U.S.A.	1927
*Deas, Stuart	c/o Messrs. John Swire & Sons, 8 Billitor Square, London, E.C., England	1919
Dent, R. V.	321 Avenue du Roi Albert, Shanghai	1933
Diemer, Miss C.	Editorial Dept., Reuter's News Agency, 4 Avenue Edward VII, Shanghai	1934
Dingle, Edwin J.	5455 Buena Vista Avenue, Rockbridge, Oakland, California, U.S.A.	1917
Donald, William H.	Office of Pacification Commissioner, Hankow	1911
Donnelly, Ivon A.	Mackenzie & Co., Tientsin	1923
Drake, Rev. F. S., B.A., B.D.	Cheeloo School of Theology, Tsinanfu, Shantung	1930
*Drake, Noah F.	Fayetteville, Arkansas, U.S.A.	1928
Duncan, A. McL.	C. M. Customs, Shanghai	1922
Dunlap, Mrs. A. M.	166 Route Dufour, Shanghai	1933
*Duyvendak, Prof. Dr. J. J. L.	Sinologisch Instituut, Leiden, Japan burg 71, Holland	1915
Dzau, Ponchen L. E.	Hamilton House, 170 Kiangse Road, Shanghai	1933
Edmondston, David C.	Hongkong & Shanghai Bank Corp., Hongkong,	1917
Elahi, M. Fazal	70 Chekiang Road, Shanghai	1933

LIST OF MEMBERS

225

Name	Address	Year of Election
Ely, Prof. John A.	St. John's University, Shanghai	1917
Ely, Mrs. J. A.	St. John's University, Shanghai	1917
Emanoff, N. N.	Messrs. Davies, Brooke & Gran, Shanghai	1933
Enders, Mrs. Gordon B.	The Clements' Apartments, 1363 Rue Lafayette, Shanghai	1922
Engel, Max. M.	Cor. Poyang & Tengyueh Rds., Shanghai	1911
*Eriksen, A. H.	Carolinevej 11, Hellerup, Denmark . .	1915
Eskelund, A. H.	c/o P. O. Box 1671, Messrs. Knipschildt & Eskelund, 56 Szechuen Road, Shanghai	1931
Essex Institute, Librarian	Salem, Massachusetts	1906
Evan-Jones, Dr. E.	73 Nanking Road, Shanghai	1932
Evans, Joseph J.	Evans & Sons, Shanghai	1916
Fairburn, H. J.	Chinese Post Office, Shanghai	1933
Fan, Gilbert T. B.	Peking Syndicate, Ltd., Shanghai . .	1933
*Farley, Prof. M. F.	Fukien Christian University, Foochow..	1924
Feetham, Hon. Mr. Justice, C.M.G.		1930
*Fearn, Dr. Anne Walter	38 Portland Place, St. Louis, Mo., U.S.A.	1911
Ferguson, Capt. D.	Pilots' Association, 24 Yuen Ming Yuen Road, Shanghai	1932
Ferrajolo, Capt. R.	Italian Legation, Nanking	1920
Finch, A. B.	North China Daily News, Shanghai . .	1922
Fischer, Emil S.	Tientsin	1894
Fitch, Rev. George A.	Y.M.C.A., 150 Bubbling Well Road, Shanghai	1921
Flemons, Sidney	Fokien Road Exchange, Shanghai Tele- phone Co., Shanghai	1917
Frank, G. M., F.R.G.S.	British & Foreign Bible Society, Chengtu	1922
Fraser, D.	280 Rue Culty, Shanghai	1931
Fraser, M. F. A.	"Beaufort," Knapp Hill, Surrey, England	1924
Fredet, J.	Chambre de Commerce Française de Changhai, Shanghai	1922
Freeman, F. R.	Dorman Long & Associates (China), Ltd., 49 Nanking Road, Shanghai . .	1932
Freeman, M.	Asia Life Insurance Co., 17 The Bund, Shanghai	1925
Freise, Ignaz A. C. J.	c/o P. O. Box No. 1013, Shanghai . .	1932
Fritz, Mrs. Bordine S.	Swan, Culbertson & Fritz, Shanghai .	1933
Fryer, George B.	Hungjao Road, Shanghai	1901
Gabbott, F. R.	Messrs. Gabbott & Co., Shanghai . .	1929
Gale, Esson M., M.A., F.H.D. . . .	Salt Revenue Administration, 18 The Bund, Shanghai	1911
Galt, Rev. E. W.	Fenchow, Shansi	1924
*Gamble, Sidney D.	347 Madison Avenue, New York, U.S.A.	1922

Name	Address	Year of Election
Gardner, H. G.	c/o Hongkong & Shanghai Bank, 9 Gracechurch St., London, E.C. . . .	1906
*Garritt, Rev. J. C.		1907
Garrod, S. H.		1931
*Gates, Miss J.	Library of Congress, Division of Orientalia, Washington, D.C., U.S.A.	
Gaunt, Percy	Chinese Legation, London	1931
Gaunt, Rev. T., M.A.	Theological School, Wumiao, Nanking	1921
Gerhaz, J. F.	c/o Light Office, Marine Dept., Chinese Maritime Customs, Shanghai . . .	1921
*Gerken, Chas.		
Gest Chinese Research Library, The	McGill University, Montreal, Canada ..	1922
Gibson, H. E.	c/o Robt. Dollar Co., Shanghai . . .	1927
Gilliam, J.	British Cigarette Co., Shanghai . . .	1915
Gillis, Captain I. V.	American Legation, Peiping	1915
Goddard, W. G.	Box 1954, G.P.O., Melbourne, Australia	1911
Glathe, A.	Glathe & Witt, 410 Szechuen Road, Shanghai	1929
*Goodrich, Prof. L. C.	509 Philosophy Hall, Columbia University, New York, U.S.A.	1933
Goullart, P.	c/o Post Box No. 1145, Shanghai . .	1933
Graham, David C., M.A., PH.D. . .	West China Union University, Chengtu	1930
Gran, E. M.	21 Jinkee Road, Shanghai	1924
Graves, Rt. Rev. F. R., D.D. . . .	St. John's University, Shanghai . . .	1930
Graves, Miss Lucy J.	St. Mary's Hall, Shanghai	1918
Grimmo, A. E. P.	270 Honan Road, Shanghai	1929
*Grodtmann, Johans	China Export-Import & Banking Co., A.G., 15 Glockengisserwall, Hamburg, Germany	1924
*Groenman, F. E. H.	Netherlands Consulate-General, Shanghai	1898
Grosbois, Ch., M.A.	Ecole Municipale Française, Shanghai	1929
*Grove, H. Dawson	Commissioner of Customs, Hangchow	1922
Gull, E. Manico	China Association, 99 Cannon St., London	1934
*Gunzburg, Baron G. de	9 Rue Pommere (XVI), Paris, France	1915
Gutt, C. J.	Pharma, 29 Szechuan Road, Shanghai..	1908
Gwynne, Thomas	Postal Supply Dept., Secretary's Office, 322 Kiaochow Road, Shanghai . . .	1928
Gyles, Paymaster Rear-Admiral H. A.	Wardown House, Nr. Petersfield, Hants, England	1913
*Hackmann, H.	Hoofdweg 34, Amsterdam, Holland ..	1919
Hall, Rev. W. J., PH.D.	The College of Wooster, 614 E. University St., Wooster, Ohio, U.S.A. . .	1903
Hambleton, Roscoe L.	705 Hamilton House, Shanghai . . .	1922
Hamilton, Dr. A. Isabel	Presbyterian Mission, South Gate, Shanghai	1933
Hammond, Miss Louise S.	A.C.M., Hsiakuan, Nanking	1930
*Hangchow Christian College, President	Zak-kow, Hangchow	
Hanson, George O.	American Embassy, Moscow, U.S.S.R..	1924
Hanson, Mrs. Victor	Shanghai University, Yangtszepoo . .	1933

LIST OF MEMBERS

227

Name	Address	Year of Election
*Harding, H. I.	British Consulate, Yunnanfu	1914
Hardy, Dr. W. M.	618 N. Broadway, Lexington, Ky., U.S.A.	1912
Harpur, C.	Municipal Offices, Shanghai	1901
Harris, Frank A.	Shanghai-Nanking Railway, Head Office, Shanghai	1932
Hart, Henry H., A.B., J.D.	Lecturer in Chinese Art and Culture, University of California, 328 Post Street, San Francisco, Cal., U.S.A.	1924
Hartman, B. A.	222 North Soochow Road, Flat 51, Shanghai	1931
Hartopp, E. L.	59 Peking Road, Shanghai	1931
Harvey, Rev. E. D.	Yale-in-China Office, Yale Station, New Haven, Conn., U.S.A.	1924
Hasbund, A. H.		1927
*Haward, Edwin	c/o North China Daily News, Shanghai.	1931
Hayes, L. Newton	179 University Avenue, Providence, R.I., U.S.A.	1924
*Hayim, A. J.	Ewo Building, 27 The Bund, Shanghai	1928
*Hayim, Ellis	Ewo Building, 27 The Bund, Shanghai	1930
Haywood, Capt. J. L.	Plaza Hotel, Shanghai	1933
Heacock, Mrs. H. E.	c/o Messrs. Heacock & Cheek, S'hai	1921
Healey, Leonard C.	Shanghai Municipal Council, Shanghai	1913
Heaney, R. S.	British Consulate, Shanghai	1933
Heeren, Rev. J. J., PH.D.	Cheeloo University, Tsinan, Shantung	1915
Heidenstam, H. von	Hogvalla, Vadsbro, near Stockholm, Sweden	1916
Heine, Miss A. de J.	1065 Lexington Ave., New York City, U.S.A.	1931
Hemingway, B.	Asiatic Petroleum Co., Newchwang . .	1922
Henchman, A. S.	Hongkong & Shanghai Bank, Shanghai	1929
Henke, Frederick G., PH.D.	643 William Street, Meadville, Penn- sylvania, U.S.A.	1912
Henry, J. M.	Lingnan University, Canton	1922
*Henry Lester Institute of Medical Research	1320 Avenue Road, Shanghai	1933
*Hepner, Rev. C. W., B.D., M.A., D.D., PH.D.	228 Furuyashiki, Ashiya, Hyogo Ken, Japan	1931
Hers, Joseph	c/o P. O. Box No. 570, Shanghai	1907
Hickling, N. W.	16 Central Road, Shanghai	1922
*Hilderbrandt, Adolf	8a Albrechstr., Lichterfeld-Berlin, Ger- many	1907
Hinder, Miss E. M.	Shanghai Municipal Council, Shanghai	1930
Hindson, C. K.	Public Health Dept., S.M.C., Shanghai	1934
Hind, H. M.	c/o Phoenix Insurance Co., 59 Peking Road, Shanghai	1923
*Hippisley, A. E.	Hongkong & Shanghai Bank, London..	1876
Hiron, C. J.		1930
Hobden, H.	36 Jinkee Road, Shanghai	1932
*Hodous, Rev. L.	The Hartford Seminary Foundation, 92 Sherman Street, Hartford, Conn., U.S.A.	1913

Name	Address	Year of Election
Hoehnke, F.	220 Szechuen Road, Shanghai	1932
Hommel, R. P.	"Gorgoyl," Richlandtown, Pa., U.S.A. (Director, Mercer Expedition for Historical Research in the Far East, Fouthill, Doylestown, Pa., U.S.A.) . .	1927
Hone, Herman	Otto & Co., Box No. 1819, Shanghai . .	1933
Hopkins, Paul S.	17 Lucerne Road, Shanghai	1933
Howard, Mrs. A. E. N.	c/o Jean Lindsay, 22 Nanking Road, Shanghai	1932
Howells, R. M.	S.M.C. Health Dept., Shanghai	1928
Hsia, Dr. Ching-ling	Chinese Foreign Office, Nanking.	1925
*Hsu, Sing-loh	National Commercial Bank, Shanghai	1932
Hu Shih, B.A., PH.D.	4 Mi Liang Ku, Peiping.	1928
Hubbard, G. E.	Hongkong & Shanghai Bank, London, England	1932
Hubbard, Rev. H. W.	American Board Mission, Paotingfu . .	1924
Hughes, A. J.	China United Assurance Society, S'hai	1909
Hughes, Rev. E. R.	c/o Henry Hughes & Son, 59 Fen- church Street, London, E.C. 3, England	1929
Hughes, W. E.	Asiatic Petroleum Co., Tsinanfu	1921
Hume, E. H., M.D.	c/o Post Graduate Medical School, New York City, U.S.A.	1922
*Hummel, A. W., PH.D.	c/o Library of Congress, Division of Orientalia, Washington, D.C., U.S.A.	1919
*Huntington, E. R.	Angus & Co., 320 Szechuen Road, Shanghai	1933
Hutchison, D. C.	c/o J. D. Hutchison & Co., Shanghai Bank Bldg., Shanghai	1926
Hynd, R. R.	Pitmudie, Rubislaw Den South, Aber- deen, Scotland	1913
Institute of Chinese Cultural Studies	University of Nanking, Tao Yuen Compound, Kan Ho Yen, Nanking . .	1931 1933
Inui, Kiyo Sue, LL.D.	Imp. Japanese Legation, Shanghai . .	1910
Irvine, Miss Elizabeth	464 Rue Lafayette, Shanghai	
Jacobsen, Axel	40 Ningpo Road, Shanghai	1933
Jaffry, Capt. Paul	c/o The "Tahure," French Navy, Shanghai	1934
Jaspar, M. A.	French Consulate-General, Shanghai . .	1933
Javrotsky, J.	Chinese Maritime Customs, Shanghai..	1934
Johnson, Hon. N. T.	American Legation, Peiping	1912
Johnson, O. S., PH.D.	c/o Wabash College, Crawfordsville, Indiana, U.S.A.	1927
Johnson, B. C. M.	Hongkong & Shanghai Bank, Manila..	1926
Johnston, Sir R.F., K.C.M.G., C.B.E.	Thatched House Club, St. James' Street, London	1907
Joly, P. B.	Inspectorate General of Customs, Shanghai	1913
Jones, J. R., M.A.	The Secretariat, S.M.C., Shanghai . .	1924
Jong, Th. de J.	Netherlands Legation, Peiping	1914
Jordan, Dr. J. H., M.A.	Health Office, Shanghai	1922
*Joseph, S. M.	c/o Cathay Hotel, Shanghai	1920

LIST OF MEMBERS

229

Name	Address	Year of Election
*Jost, A.	Charles Rudolf & Co., Zurich, Switzerland	1912
Justesen, M. L.	c/o 8 French Bund, Shanghai	1913
Kann, E.	941 Avenue Foch, Shanghai	1929
Karlbeck, O.	Museum of Far Eastern Antiquities, Stockholm, Sweden	1914
Karlgren, Dr. B.	University of Gothenburg, Sweden	1922
Keaney, Dr. F. P.	Apt. 615, Cathay Mansions, Shanghai	1933
Keeton, G. W., B.A., LL.B.	Victor University, Manchester	1926
Kellogg, C. R.	Massachusetts State College, Amherst, Mass., U.S.A.	1919
Kennedy, George		1929
Kent, A. S.	c/o B.A.T. Co., Shanghai	1913
*Kern, D. S.	Robin, Manitoba, Canada	1912
Kilner, E.	8 Florence Road, Ealing, London W. 5	1909
*King Chien Kun	104 Bubbling Well Road, Shanghai	1932
King, Mrs. D. K.	Pass. 125, 7 Av. du Roi Albert, S'hai	1930
King, Prof. Harrison	St. John's University, Jessfield	1927
*King, Louis M.	3 Purley Avenue, London, N.W. 2	1911
*King, Sohtsu G.	11 Kaka Hutung, Peiping	1924
*Klautke, Rektor Paul	Stettin 10, Heblweg 16, Germany	1924
*Kliene, Charles	Director of Chinese Studies and Translation Office, S.M.C., Shanghai	1916
Klabien, J.	Ch. M. Customs, Nanking	1913
Kotenev, A. M.	135 Weihaiwei Road, Shanghai	1924
*Krisel, A.	142 Museum Road, Shanghai	1914
Krueger, Pastor E.	1 Great Western Road, Shanghai	1930
Kuck, Fritz W.	c/o Kaiser Wilhelm Schule, 1 Great Western Road, Shanghai	1930
*Kunisawa Shimbei	270 Hyakunin-cho, Ohkubo, Tokyo	1917
Kuo, C. C.	Chung-Hwa Studio, 349 Kwangse Road, Shanghai	1932
*Kuo Ping-wen, Dr.	c/o Ta Hua Development Co., H. & S. Bank Building, Shanghai	1932
Kwang Hsih, His Lordship	Lord Abbot of Ch'an Cheng-Lob Monastery, c/o International Buddhist Society, (Mr. Wong Mow Lam, Secretary), 19 Hart Road, Shanghai	1934
Kwauk, S. L.	Shanghai Benevolent Industrial Institute, 397 Kiaochow Road, Shanghai	1932
*Kwauk, Z. U.	638A Av. Haig, Shanghai	1931
Kwei, S. Shun	History Compilation Bureau of Greater Shanghai, 291 Rue Chapsal, Shanghai	1934
Kwong, Edward Y. K.	Pass. 339, 40 R. Bourgeat, Shanghai	1932
Lachlan, Miss A.	c/o Westminster Bank, Old Street Branch, City Road, London	1923
Lamansky, V. V.	471 Rue Cardinal Mercier, Shanghai	1932
Lambelet, A. R. A.	Savoy Apts. No. 32 Route de Say Zoong, Shanghai	1933

LIST OF MEMBERS

Name	Address	Year of Election
Lambert, Henri	Société Belge de Chemins de fer en Chine, 14 Kiukiang Road, Shanghai	1929
Lamson, H. D.		1932
*Lauderdale, T.		1932
*Latourette, Prof. K. S.	The Yale Divinity School, 409 Prospect St., New Haven, Conn., U.S.A. . . .	1912
*Laufer, Dr. Berthold	Field Museum of Natural History, Chicago	1901
Laurenz, Mrs. Rudolf	658 Avenue Haig, Shanghai	1932
*Laver, Capt. H. E.	Head Street, Colchester, Essex, England	1912
*Leavens, D. H.	c/o American Consulate, Shanghai ..	1917
*Leavenworth, Chas. S.	79 Howe St., New Haven, Conn. U.S.A.	1901
Lechler, J. H., M.D.	C.M.S., Mienchuhsien, Sze.	1929
Lee, Prof. Shao-chang	University of Hawaii, Honolulu	1933
Lee, William Yinson	Sun Life Ins. Co., Shanghai	1933
Leete, Rev. Wm.	The American Board Missions, Pao-tingfu	1913
Lefever, R. H.	Seneca Castle, N.Y., U.S.A.	1924
Lenhart, Miss L. E.	St. Luke's Hospital, Shanghai	1928
*Leslie, T.	Elmers Glen, Salfords, Redhill, Surrey, England	1914
Lester, Miss E. S.	2807 Conn. Ave., Apt. 305, Washington, D. C., U.S.A.	1919
Lewis, J.	S.M.C. Health Dept., Shanghai	1932
Lim Boon Kong, Dr.	University of Amoy, Amoy	1930
*Li Ming	Chekiang Industrial Bank, Shanghai ..	1932
Li Ting An, Dr.	Commissioner of Health, Greater Shanghai Municipality, Nantao	1933
Liddell, Mrs. John	578 Hungjao Road, Shanghai	1934
Lieu, Dr. D. K.	6 Hsin Yeh Lee, Avenue Joffre, Shanghai	1933
Lillico, Stuart	The China Journal, 20 Museum Road, Shanghai	1934
Linde, Mrs. A. M. de		1922
*Lindsay, Dr. Ashley W.	West China Union University, College of Medicine and Dentistry, Chengtu ..	1930
Ling, C. P.	China Commercial Adv. Agency, 2 Hongkong Road, Shanghai	1932
*Little, Edward S.	9 Crescent Avenue, Yu Yuen Road, Shanghai	1910
Little, L. K.	21 Hart Road, Shanghai	1931
Liu, Dr. Herman C. E.	Shanghai University, Shanghai	1932
Lloyd, Mrs. Magdalen		1930
Lobzowsky, Dr. G. E.	39 Peking Road, Shanghai	1932
Lockhart, Mrs. Joana K.	c/o Dr. O. C. Lockhart, Internal Revenue Administration, Central Bank, Shanghai	1933
Lockwood, W. W.	202 Route de Say Zoong, Shanghai ..	1913
Lord, Rev. R. D.	c/o S.P.G., 15 Tufton Street, Westminster, S.W., England	1918
Low, Dr. C. W.	China United Assee. Society, Shanghai	1932
Lucas, S. E.	Bank of China, Palmerston House, 34 Old Broad Street, London, E.C. 2 ..	1906

LIST OF MEMBERS

231

Name	Address	Year of Election
*Luthy, Charles	C. Luthy & Co., 22 Kiangse Road, Shanghai	1910
*Luthy, Emil	House 2, Lane 750, Hart Road, Shanghai	1917
*Ly, Dr. J. Usang	Chiao Tung University, Shanghai	1932
*Lyall, Leonard A.	Queen Anne's Mansions, flat 5 Centre, London, S.W. 1, England	1892
*Lyon, Rev. D. Willard, D.D.	Missions Building, Yuen Ming Yuen Road, Shanghai	1927
Ma, Dr. Y. C.	1954 Avenue Haig, Shanghai	1933
Mabee, Fred C. .. .. .	.. .. .	1912
Macbeth, Miss A.	Court 32, House 9, Edinburgh Road, Shanghai	1915
*MacNair, H. F., PH.D.	University of Chicago, Chicago, U.S.A.	1920
Macoun, J. H.	Inspectorate General of Customs, Shanghai	1894
Madsen, W.	c/o P. O. Box No. 1936, 39 Peking Road, Shanghai	1932
Maginnis, A. F. L. .. .. .	.. .. .	1932
Magle, Hans	Allegade 55, Odeuse, Denmark	1932
Maher, Joseph	House 44, 1522 Bubbling Well Road, Shanghai	1930
Main, Dr. Duncan	2 West Coates, Edinburgh, Scotland	1900
Maitland, H.	Room 303, Hongkong & Shanghai Bank Building, Shanghai	1929
*Mamet, O.	2 Av. General Lenan, Assebrouck (les Bruges), Belgium	1922
March, B. F., Jr.	University Museum, University of Michigan, Ann Arbor, Mich., U.S.A.	1924
*Marsh, Dr. E. L.	Hongkong & Shanghai Bank Building, Shanghai	1908
Marshall, R. Calder	2 Peking Road, Shanghai	1908
Martillière, Dr.	Sassoon Building, Shanghai	1930
Martin, Hugh	Noel Murray & Co., Shanghai	1932
Martin, Mrs. W. A.	Bridge House, Nanking	1916
Martinella, A.	8 Italian Bund, Tientsin	1921
Mather, Wm. A.	American Presby. Mission, Paotingfu	1926
Mathieson, Rev. J. C.	Canadian Mission, Hwei King, Ho.	1929
Maughan, J. R., A.R.I.B.A.	Messrs. Lester, Johnson & Morris, 1 Kiukiang Road, Shanghai	1934
Maxwell, Dr. J. L.	Lester Research Laboratory, Shanghai	1931
Maxwell, Dr. J. Preston	P.U.M.C., Peiping	1917
McBain, E.	George McBain & Co., Shanghai	1934
McCabe, P. J. .. .. .	.. .. .	1922
McDaniel, C. Yates	12 Da Tong Hsiang, Nanking	1930
McDonald, Randal G.	203 to 206 Missions Bldg., Shanghai	1930
McEuen, K. J.	Hongkong & Shanghai Bank, Nagasaki, Japan	1908
McGillivray, Mrs. D., C.L.S.	128 Museum Road, Shanghai	1933
McIntosh, Miss E. W. .. .. .	.. .. .	1923
McLean, W. A.	The Washington National Bank, 2308 North Cedar, Tacoma, Wash., U.S.A.	1925

Name	Address	Year of Election
McLaughlin, Rev. Wallace H. . .	Concordia Theological Seminary, Beyond Jardine Estate, Hankow . .	1931
*McMillen, O. W.	Pui Ying Middle School, Canton . .	1923
McNeely, Miss M. V.	Kwang Hsueh Publishing House, 140 Peking Road, Shanghai	1923
McNulty, Rev. Henry A.	American Church Mission, Soochow . .	1918
McRae, J. D.		1910
Mead, E. W.	University, Manchester, England. . .	1916
Meinhardt, Mrs. C. D.	U.S. Consulate General, Shanghai . .	1923
*Meister, O., C.E., M.E.	c/o Sulzer Bros., 4 Avenue Edward VII, Shanghai	1922
*Melnikoff, D. M.	Flat No. 3, Second floor, Asiatic Trading Corp. Bldg., S.A.D., No. 2, Hankow	1919
Mencarini, J.	c/o P.O. Box 795, Manila, P.I. . . .	1884
*Mendelsen, Major Joseph A., M.C. . .	Station Hospital, Fort Francis E. Warren, Cheyenne, Wyoming, U.S.A.	1933
Meng, C. Y. W.	c/o Ministry of Industry, Nanking . .	1925
Mennie, D.	A. S. Watson & Co., Shanghai . . .	
Menzies, Rev. J. M.	Chinese Research Institute, Shantung Christian University, Tsinan, Shantung	1916
*Merian, Hans	Multenweg, 21 Binnigen, near Basle, Switzerland	1921
Mesny, H. P.	59 Wingon Terrace, YC 32 Darroch Road, Shanghai	1911
*Meyer, H. Fuge	Strandboulevarden 6, Copenhagen, Denmark	1920
Middleton, W. B. O.	Middleton & Co., Ltd., 2 Canton Road, Shanghai	1930
Mills, E. W.	H. B. M. Consulate General, Shanghai	1920
Mironoff, Prof. N. D.	17 Yurimachi, Hoshigaura, Dairen . .	1924
Miskin, Stanley C.	Asiatic Petroleum Co., Shanghai. . .	1913
Mogabgab, A.	Saydah & Saydah, 74 Szechuen Road, Shanghai	1932
Mohrbacher, Rev. Father C. M. . .	Catholic Mission, Taikai Chuan, near Tsining, Shantung	1930
*Moncrieff, J. E.	West China Union University, Chengtu, Szechuen	1930
Moninger, Miss M. M.	Hoihow, Kwangtung	1916
*Moore, Dr. A.		1913
Morriss, Gordon	Messrs. Lester, Johnson, & Morriss, Shanghai	1933
*Morriss, Harry	118 Rue Père Robert, Shanghai . . .	1932
Morris, Dr. H. H.	St. Luke's Hospital, Shanghai	1909
*Morse, C. J.	1825 Asbury Avenue, Evanston, Illinois	1919
*Morse W. R., M.D., F.R.G.S. . . .	West China Union University, Chengtu, Szechuen	1930
*Morgan, Rev. Evan, D.D.	C.L.S., 128 Museum Road, Shanghai . .	1901
Mortensen, Rev. Ralph	23 Liang Yi Street, Hankow	1920
Moses, Mrs. A. E.	422 Avenue Haig, Shanghai	1931
*Mossop, A. G.	5 Kinnear Road, Shanghai	1925

LIST OF MEMBERS

233

Name	Address	Year of Election
Munn, Rev. Wm.	The Vicarage, Dunston, Lincoln, England	1922
Munro-Faure, P. H.	c/o A. P. C., Kiukiang	1921
Münter, L. S.	c/o "Rödbjergshavn" per HUMBLE, Langeland, Denmark	1910
*Munthe, Mrs.	43 Hsiao Tien Shui Ching Hutung, Peiping	1921
*Murphy, H. K., A.I.A.	212 Szechuen Road, Shanghai	1932
Murray, C. P.		1930
Musso, G. D.	Rome, via Piemonte 45	1924
Nakayama, Shozen	Tambaichi-machi, Nara Prefect., Japan	1931
Nance, Prof. W. B.	Soochow University, Soochow	1922
Nash, E. T.	The Secretariat, S.M.C., Shanghai	1929
Nathan, Major W. S.	Peking Syndicate, Shanghai	1932
Nathorst, Miss Ruth G.	Church of Sweden Mission, Changsha, Hunan	1934
Nethery, Dr. Wm. M.,	Shanghai Sanitarium & Hospital, 150 Rubicon Road, Shanghai	1933
Newman, A. L.	Ch. Customs Service, 21 Hart Road, Shanghai	1933
Newman, Kenneth	59 Peking Road, Shanghai	1921
*Nielsen, Albert	c/o Dr. Jack Nielsen, Maridalsveren 3, Oslo, Norway	1894
Norman, H. C.	c/o Miss Norman, 23 Queen's Road, Tunbridge Wells, Kent, England	1912
Norman, W. von	Ekman Foreign Agencies, 115 Kiangse Road, Shanghai	1932
Norton, J. R.	St. John's University, Shanghai	1928
Nutter, Mrs. Florence	Cathay Mansions, Shanghai	1934
Nystrom, E. T.	2 Tung Chang An Hutung, Peiping	1920
*Oakes, Rev. W. Longden	c/o M. M. S., 24 Bishopsgate, London, E.C. 2	1919
*O'Brien-Butler, P. E.	"Bansha," Plat Douet Road, Jersey, C.I.	1886
Odaki, F.	Tung Wen College, Shanghai	1930
Oliver, A. W. L.	c/o Custom House, Shanghai	1924
Olsen, F. A.		1932
*Oriental Study Expedition	Pomona College, 120 Sumner Hall, Claremont, Cal., U.S.A.	1930
Ouskouli, M. H. A.	451 Kiangse Road, Shanghai	1917
Owens, A. C.	Wen Hwei Boys School, Am. Presby. Mission, Tengchow, Shantung	1929
*Paddock, Rev. B. H.	107 Cornelia Ave., Mill Valley, Cal., U.S.A.	1916
Pagh, E. K.	G. N. Telegraph Co., Shanghai	1908
Pain, J. C.	Asiatic Petroleum Co., Hankow	1932

Name	Address	Year of Election
Parson, Desmond	c/o Hongkong and Shanghai Bank, Peiping	1934
Parsons, E. E.	259 Kiangse Road, Shanghai	1916
*Paterson, J. J.	Jardine, Matheson & Co., Hongkong	1922
Patrick, Dr. H. C.	22 Whangpoo Road, Shanghai	1912
*Patton, Rev. C. E., M.A.	Room 519, 23 Yuen Ming Yuen Road, Shanghai	1924
Payne, Mrs. Harry F.	American Bank Note Co., Room 205, 12 The Bund, Shanghai	1933
Pearson, C. Dearne	484 Kiangse Road, Shanghai	1908
Peck, Mrs. Willys R.	American Consulate General, Nanking	1933
Peck, S. H.	Shanghai Insurance Office, Shanghai	1933
Peffer, Nathaniel .. .. .	.. .. .	1918
*Peiyang University Librarian	Tientsin	1911
Penfold, F. G.	2 Peking Road, Shanghai	1916
Pennett, C. W.	Jardine Engineering Corp., Shanghai	1932
Perkins, M. F.	c/o Dept. of State, Consular Bureau, Washington D.C.	1914
Perry, Harold G.	Vacuum Co., Shanghai	1932
Petermann, Dr. B. .. .. .	.. .. .	1928
Petersen, V.	c/o The Chinese Telegraph Administration, Peiping	1906
*Peterson, R. A., M.A.	Box 105 Lima, Ohio, U.S.A.	1924
*Pettus, Prof. W. B.	College of Chinese Studies, Peiping	1915
*Phelps, D. L., Ph. D.	West China Union University, Chengtu, Szechuan	1929
Pickens, Rev. C. L.	American Church Mission, Hankow	1931
Plews, Mrs. J. C. .. .. .	.. .. .	1929
*Plumer, James M.	Ch. M. Customs, Shanghai	1931
Poate, F. W.	Mackenzie & Co., Shanghai	1928
Polevoy, S. A.	4A Hsi Ch'iao Hutung, Peiping	1917
Pollard, Robert T., M.A.	801 E. River Road, Minneapolis, Minn., U.S.A.	1924
Porter, Harold, C.M.G.	Peiping Syndicate, Ltd., Hongkong & Shanghai Bank Building, Shanghai	1930
Porter, Prof. Lucius C.	Yenching University, Peiping	1933
Porterfield, W. M.	221 South Gill Street, State College, Pennsylvania, U.S.A.	1920
Pott, Mrs. F. L. Hawks	St. John's University, Shanghai	1932
Poullain, H. V.	Directorate-General of Posts, Shanghai	1933
Powell, J. B.	The China Weekly Review, 38 Avenue Edward VII, Shanghai	1918
Pratt, J. T., C.M.G.	Foreign Office, London	1909
Price, Dr. M. T.	c/o Prof. Leslie Hanawalt, 490 Robinwood Avenue, Detroit, Michigan, U.S.A.	1925
Prideaux-Brune, H. I.	British Consulate, Tengyueh, Yunnan	1914
Frip-Möller, J., F.I.A.	Vesterbrogade 167, Copenhagen V. Denmark	1929
Public Library, The	Newark, New Jersey, U.S.A.	1924
Puckle, Raymond D. A. .. .. .	.. .. .	1932

LIST OF MEMBERS

235

Name	Address	Year of Election
Raeburn, P. D.	Lane 611, House 7, Yü Yuen Road, Shanghai	1916
Ramondino, F.		1922
Raven, F. J.	Raven Trust Co., Shanghai	1933
Raven, Mrs. F. J.	Raven Trust Co., Shanghai	1933
*Rea, Geo. Bronson	The Far Eastern Review, Shanghai	1931
Read, Dr. Bernard E.	Henry Lester Institute, Shanghai.. . . .	1933
Read, H. H.	c/o Shanghai Club, Shanghai	1933
Reis, E. O.	38 Bishopsgate, London, E.C. 2.	
	England	1926
Reiss, Dr. F.	Room 64, 21 Museum Road, Shanghai.. . . .	1923
Rispaud, Capt. J. H. J.	Clements' Apts 121, 1863 Rue Lafayette, Shanghai	1933
Ritchie, W. W.	Directorate General of Posts, Shanghai	1907
Robert, A.	Société Belge de Chemins de fer en Chine, 14 Kiukiang Road, Shanghai	1930
*Roberts, Prof. D.	St. John's University, Shanghai	1916
Robertson, E. S.	11 Manorcroft Road, Egham, Surrey, England	1932
Robertson, Douglas	New York Times Office, 14 Route Winling, Shanghai	1933
Robertson, Dr. R. C.	Henry Lester Inst., Shanghai	1933
Rock, Dr. Joseph F.	Yunnanfu, Yunnan	1933
Rogers, J. M.	506 E. Lafayette St., Dothan, Ala., U.S.A.	1924
Roots, Rt. Rev. L. H.	American Church Mission, Hankow	1916
*Ros, Cav. G.	Italian Consulate, Shanghai	1931
Rotours, Robert des	2 Rue Joseph-Bertrand, Viroflay, France	1933
Roulston, Rev. W. A.	Weiwei, Honan	1931
*Rowe, E. S. Benbow	c/o Lady Barrow, The Grove, West Molesey, London	1907
*Rowe, O. S. Benbow	Shanghai Stock Exchange, Shanghai.. . . .	1933
Ruffé, M. D'Auxion de	41 Rue du Consulat, Shanghai	1930
Ruxton, Lt. Col. R. M. C.	Salt Revenue Administration, 18 The Bund, Shanghai	1934
Sabelstrom, G. B.	Union Brewery, Shanghai	1932
*Saeki, Dr. P. Y.	164 Nishi Okubo, 3 Chome, Yodobashi Ku, Tokyo, Japan.. . . .	1931
Sakamoto, Prof. Y.	450 Dixwell Road, Shanghai	1927
Sandor, H.	Asia Realty Co., Shanghai	1922
*Sarkar, Prof. B. K.	c/o Bangiya Sahitya Parishat, 2431, Upper Circular Road, Calcutta.	1915
Sawdon, E. W.	Kingsmead, Selly Oak, Birmingham	1916
Schneider, Mrs.		1930
*Schoch, J. E.	Villa Giovanna, Ponte Tresa, Switzerland	1924
Schwarzl, M. G.		1929
Schwyzzer, F.	French Municipal Council, Shanghai	1932
*Scott, W.	Pomona College, 120 Sumner Hall, Claremont, Cal., U.S.A.	1930

Name	Address	Year of Election
*Secker, F.	c/o Hotel du Nord, Peiping	1930
*Senger, Miss Nettie M.	Chinchow, Shansi	1923
Service, R. Roy	131 Museum Road, Shanghai	1924
Shahmoon, Ezra	Room 122, 2A Kiukiang Road, Shanghai	1931
*Shaw, Norman	Yarnells, Yarnells Hill, North Hinksly Oxford, England	1912
Shen, Wesley		1930
Sheppard, Rev. G. W.	British & Foreign Bible Society, S'hai	1923
Shih, K. K., M.A.		1933
Shioya, T.	Bank of Chosen, 3 Kiukiang Road,	1922
Shirokogoroff, S. M.	Tsing Hua College, Peiping.	1923
Shu, Dr. H. J.	20 Rue de Paris, Hankow	1921
Siegel, H. W.	Kunst & Albers, Hankow	1932
Silsby, Rev. J. A.		1911
*Sirén, Prof. O.	National Museum, Stockholm, Sweden	1922
Six, Rev. Ray L.	318 Rich St., Mornan, Oklahoma, U.S.A.	1924
Skinner, Dr. A. H.	Hankow	1919
Skvortzow, B. W.		1918
Smith, Ernest K.	Dept. of English, Yenching University, Peiping	1933
Smith, J. Langford		1908
Smothers, Frank	5 Tongshan Court, 175 Tunsin Road, Shanghai	1934
Sokolsky, Geo. E.	302 West 12th Street, New York, U.S.A.	1924
Soothill, Prof. W. E.	4 Bradmore Road, Oxford, England	1927
*South Manchuria Railway Co., Library	Dairen	1910
Southcott, Mrs. V. C.	c/o Banca Commerciale Italiano, Florence, Italy	1919
Sorge, Dr. Richard	Post Box 1062, Shanghai	1930
Sowerby, Arthur de C., F.Z.S.	The China Journal, 20 Museum Road, Shanghai	1923
Sparke, C. E.	Excess Insurance Co., Snnangnai	1932
Spencer, Joseph E.	Assist. Auditorate, Government Salt Revenue, Ichang, Hupeh	1932
Speyer, C. S.	Room 302, 12 The Bund, Shanghai	1933
Spiker, Clarence J.	American Legation, Peiping	1913
Stanford University Library	Stanford University, California, U.S.A.	1922
*Stedeford, Dr. E. T. A.	Wenchow, China.	1919
*Stewart, Rev. J. L.	St. Andrew's College, University of Saskatchewan, Saskatoon, Sask., Canada	1916
Stockton, G. C.	600 Rue Frelupt, Shanghai	1914
Stone, Mrs. E. S.		1923
Struthers, John	China United Apts., Shanghai	1930
Sturdevant, Mrs. E. W.	175 Tunsin Road, House 6, Shanghai.	1934
Stursberg, W. A.		1919
*Suga, Capt. T.	Nissen Kisen Kaisha, Tokyo, Japan	1919
Sun, Mrs. J. H.	House No. 1, 1263 Yü Yuen Road, Shanghai	1930
Sung, Prof. William Z. L.	St. John's University, Shanghai	1933
Swallow, R. W.	Peking Syndicate, Ltd., Shanghai	1933

LIST OF MEMBERS

237

Name	Address	Year of Election
Swan, Mrs. A. H.	397 S. Fraser Ave., Los Angeles, Calif., U.S.A.	1928
Swan, J. E.	Messrs. Swan, Culbertson & Fritz, Sassoon House, Shanghai	1934
Swann, R. N.	17 The Bund, Shanghai	1926
*Swenson, Rev. Herman	Salem Evangelical Free Church, Ku Yuan, Kansu	1931
Tachibana, M.	c/o Inspectorate General of Customs, Shanghai	1881
T'ang Leang-li	Editor, People's Tribune, P.O. Box No. 2011, Shanghai	1933
Tarby, H.	Butterfield & Swire, Pootung	1931
Tarby, Mrs. H.	Butterfield & Swire, Pootung	1931
Talbot, R. M.	Customs House, Yunnanfu	1915
*Taylor, C. H. Brewitt	Cathay, Earlsferry, Scotland	1885
Taylor, Hedley	Messrs. Reiss Massey & Co. Shanghai	1933
Teesdale, J. H.	c/o Thatched House Club, London	1916
Temasi, Dr. G. de		1929
Thomas, Ivor	882 Dunsmuir Road, Victoria, B.C., Canada	1924
Thomas, J. A.	North Street, White Plains N. Y., U.S.A.	1930
Thomas, J. A. T.	c/o Mustard & Co., Shanghai	1890
Thomason, Miss Lillian	Shanghai University, Yangtzepoo, Shanghai	1933
Thompson, A. B.	c/o J. D. Hutchison & Co., Shanghai	1928
Throop, M. H.	St. John's University, Jessfield, S'hai.	1912
Ting I-hsien	L. 580 Canton Road, Shanghai	1902
Tipton, Rev. W. H.	Southern Baptist Missions, 29 Yuen Ming Yuen Road, Shanghai	1933
Toller, W. Stark	British Consulate, Chungking	1907
*Tochtermann, Karl	Schulstrasse 5, Bad Harzburg Bundheim, Germany	1900
*Torrance, Rev. Thos.	American Bible Society, Chengtu, Sze.	1922
Trivett, Very Rev. Dean, M.A., D.D.	The Deanery, Shanghai	1932
Tsen, Dr. D. C.	St. John's University, Shanghai	1932
Tucker, G. E.	1A Kiukiang Road, Shanghai	1915
Tucker, Mrs. G. E.	1A Kiukiang Road, Shanghai	1915
Uchida, Naosaku	Tung Wen College, Shanghai	1933
Ungern-Sternberg, Baroness L. von	c/o Siemens (China) Co., Shanghai	1924
Unwin, F. S.	The Angela, Victoria, B. C., Canada	1914
Valk, M. H. Van der	Netherlands Consulate, Canton	1934
Van Corback, T. B.	367 Kiangse Road, Shanghai.	1913
Vanderburgh, R. M.	Realty Investment Co., 210 Szechuen Road, Shanghai	1927
Vandervort, Charles T.	Menlo Junior College, Menlo Park, California, U.S.A.	1930
Vargas, Dr. Philip de	Yenching University, Peiping	1933
Veryard, Robert K.	Y.M.C.A., Changsha	1917

Name	Address	Year of Election
*Vizenzinovitch, Mrs. V.	251 Hungjao Road, Shanghai	1914
*Vogel, Dr. <i>Jur.</i> Werner	Room 425, 19 Yuen Ming Yuen Road, Shanghai	1930
*Voigt, M.	503 Embankment Building, Shanghai..	1933
*Volpicelli, Comdr. Z.		1886
Wade, R. H. R.	c/o Inspectorate General of Customs, Shanghai	1918
Wagstaff, W. W.	118 Great Western Road, Shanghai . .	1922
Walker, Mrs. M. P.	St. John's University, Shanghai	1931
Walker, Miss R.	St. Mary's Hall, Shanghai	1929
*Walker, W. J. D.	Physics. Dept., Washington University, Saint Louis, Mo., U.S.A.	1930
Waller, A. J.	Kelly & Walsh, Ltd., Shanghai	1916
*Wang, Dr. C. T.	70 Route Amiral Courbet, Shanghai . .	1933
Wang, Chung-Yu	63 Szeming St., S.A.D., Hankow.. . .	1924
Ward, H. Lipson	Platt & Co., 83 Peking Road, Shanghai	1923
*Warner, Mrs. G. B.	Oregon Museum of Fine Arts, University of Oregon, Eugene, Oregon, U.S.A.	1925
*Washbrook, H. G.	14 Princes Park Avenue, Golders Green, London, N.W. 11	1908
*Watson, P. T.	Fenchow Hospital, A. B. M., Fenchow, Shansi	1920
Watson, R. A. C.		1930
Way, W. H.	Jardine Engineering Corp., Shanghai..	1931
Way, Mrs. W. H.	Jardine Engineering Corp., Shanghai..	1931
Webb, Dr. H. W.		1928
Wei, Lott H. T.	The Central Mint, Gordon Road (North End), Shanghai	1931
Welch, A. J.	J. A. Wattie & Co., 10 Canton Road, Shanghai	1933
Welch, Bishop Herbert	Room 615 Missions Bldg., Shanghai . .	1929
*Weng, Kochai C., B.A.	134 Bruce Road, Tientsin	1933
Wernay, Mrs. Lucia	P.O. Box No. 1759, Shanghai	1929
Werner, E. T. C.	1 Ku'ei-chia Ch'ang, East City, Peiping	1915
Westbrook, Dr. C. H., M.A., PH.D. . .	Shanghai University, Shanghai	1930
White, Rev. F. J., D.D.	Shanghai University, Shanghai	1933
White, Miss Laura M.	Christian Literature Society, Shanghai	1916
*White, Rt. Rev. Wm. C.	604 Jarvis St., Toronto, Canada	1913
Whittemore, N. C.	Room 27, Christian Literature Bldg., Shoro, Seoul, Chosen	1930
Whyte, Sir Frederick, K.C.S.I.		1930
Whyte, Lady		1930
Wickes, Dr. Dean R.	American Board Mission, Techow, Shantung	1924
Widler, Emile	c/o P.O. Box No. 1168, Shanghai	1923
*Wilbur, Mrs. H. A.	c/o Y.M.C.A., Outside West Gate, Seoul, Chosen	1920
Wilden, H. A.	French Legation, Peiping	1917
Wilder, Dr. Geo. D.	American Board Mission, Tung Hsien, Hopel	1924

LIST OF MEMBERS

239

Name	Address	Year of Election
Wiley, J. Hundley, M.A., Ph.D. ..	University of Shanghai, Shanghai ..	1933
*Wilhelm, P.	House No. 4, Lane 750 Hart Road, Shanghai	1924
Wilkinson, E. S.	2 Canton Road, Shanghai	1911
Wilkinson, H. P., K.C., B.C.L. . . .	Tobermore, Co. Derry, Northern Ireland.	1909
Williams, Capt. C. C.		1918
*Williams, C. A. S.	C. M. Customs, Peiping	1919
Williams, Dr. J. T.	Room 704, 29 Yuen Ming Yuen Road, Shanghai	1925
Wilson, G. L., F.S.I.	Palmer & Turner, Shanghai	1921
Winter, F. B.	Hongkong & Shanghai Bank, Shanghai	
Winter, R. S.	S.M.C. Secretariat, Shanghai . . .	1930
Wissmann, Prof. Dr. von	Central University, Nanking . . .	1932
Wong, Y. W.,	Commercial Press, Ltd., Shanghai .	1927
Wood, A. G.		1919
*Woodward, A. M. Tracey, F.R.G.S., F.R.N.S., F.R.P.S.L.	Chateau Millefleurs, Cadaujac, (Gi- ronde), France	1921
*Wright, S. F.	Inspectorate General of Customs, 21 Hart Road, Shanghai	1921
Wu, John C.	c/o The Comparative Law School of China, 103 Quinsan Road, Shanghai	1930
*Wu Lien-teh, Dr.	National Quarantine Service, Room 418, Glen Bldg., Shanghai	1916
Yamada, Kenkichi	Tungwen College, Shanghai	1932
Yankofsky, George	Sei Shin, Chosen	1932
Yates, Smith	203 Rue Boissezon, Residence No. 4, Shanghai	1934
*Yetts, W. Perceval, O.B.E.	4 Aubrey Road, Campden Hill, London, W. 8	1909
Young, R. C.	Municipal Offices, Shanghai	1912
Young, S. C.	Lane 608, 43 Yu Yuen Road, Shanghai	1923
*Zih Dzu Sing	Mercantile Bank of India, Shanghai .	1932
*Zwemer, Rev. Samuel M., D.D. . . .	The Theological Seminary, 48 Merser Street, Princeton, New Jersey, U.S.A.	1917

LIST OF MEMBERS

TOTALS:

CLASSIFIED AS:—

Honorary Members.. ..	13	Residing in Shanghai	347
Life Members	149	Residing elsewhere in China ..	125
Ordinary Members	560	Residing in other countries ..	185
		Address unknown	65

 Total .. 722

 Total .. 722

List 1933	695	Resignations	33
New Members	70	Deaths	10

 Total .. 765

 Total .. 43

765

43

 Present Membership.. .. 722



